

THE MENACE OF THE DRAGON

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The Menace of The Dragon

by

> B. SHYAM SUNDER

CITIZENS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE
MAHARASHTRA

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FOREWORD

The Chinese Dragon has attacked India—the land of Peace. India has to live with this menace for years to come. The shooting has ceased on the Northern Border; and the Chinese Forces have been withdrawn to a line, which presents a permanent threat to India's sovereignty and security. The Chinese aggression must be vacated, if India is to live with honour and also without danger.

This again is not merely military war; the menace is more ideological than military. Whether the Communist China has territorial ambitions or not, is not a very important issue; whether the Red China is showing signs of expansionism or not, is an issue now no longer in doubt. The Communist China is expansionist and presents militarily and ideologically a threat to India and other democratic countries.

Asia and Africa have appeared on the international stage. Parliamentary Democracy and Communist Dictatorship are contending for supremacy in these two continents. Their respective leaders are India and China. The first blow has been struck by China to India; it is an attack on Democracy; it is a thrust against the peaceful and parliamentary way of life.

China has her friends in India; so, the menace is not only external, but is likely to be internal also.

“The menace of the Dragon” is a clear statement of the case.

20-10-63

T. S. BHARDE
WORKING CHAIRMAN
CITIZENS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE

GRATITUDE

This study has been undertaken after the proclamation of Emergency. A Citizens' Central Council has been formed in New Delhi for mobilisation and catering to the welfare needs of Jawans and their families. Its aims and objectives have inspired me to do my bit, of which this book is the outcome.

So I take this opportunity to express my thanks and deep gratitude to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Chairman, Citizens' Central Council, for having inspired in me a sense of dedication and service to the Nation. The twin qualities, hard work and sincerity of purpose, have a harmonious blending in her person which has set in a wave of patriotic fervour in many young men and women of this country. I am much grateful to Shri D. P. Mishra, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, a wellknown author and a distinguished educationist for his kind help and guidance in all my endeavours.

I thank Shri T. S. Bharde, the Speaker of Maharashtra Assembly, for having contributed a 'Foreword' to this book. I am much thankful to Shri Dinesh Singh, General Secretary, Citizens' Central Council, for his kind help and guidance. To Shri Sham Nath, Deputy Minister for Information & Broadcasting, I express my gratitude for his advice and generous help as and when I sought for.

I have to thank the Citizens' Defence Committee, Maharashtra and its Secretary, Shri G. B. Newalkar in particular, for having readily agreed to publish this book. I pay my tributes to them for their valuable service to the Defence effort.

To Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, M.P., a veteran Congressman from Bihar with a long record of sacrifice, a mass spokesman, and a seasoned Parliamentarian, I am much indebted for his constant help and advice which he has so generously afforded me. With a note of affection, I have also to thank Shri Lalit Sen, M.P., a popular prince from Himachal Pradesh, a keen student of History and Politics, and a Youth Leader, for his untiring efforts and ceaseless help in all my endeavours and in this compilation particularly. I also express my thanks and gratitude to Dr. G. S. Melkote, M.P., for having advised and guided me in this study.

I pay my respects to Major T. Ramchandra, one of the close associates of Gandhiji, and a dedicated social worker, and thank him for his discussions with me on this project.

To Mr. Barret M. Reed, of the U.S.I.S., New Delhi, I am much thankful for his kind co-operation and help during the compilation of this study. I regard it as a reflection of the growing friendship between the countries of India and America. I pay my warm tributes to them for their valuable service to the democratic world.

MY NOTE

China has invaded India. It is a mad venture. A friend deceiving a friend is a foe indeed. The President of India has proclaimed Emergency. The people of India are wild with anger and have risen to one man to throw off the aggressor from every centimeter of our sacred soil. Every man and woman, young and old, have resolved themselves to contribute their mite to the defence effort and safeguard the integrity of the motherland. There are two ways leading to this goal. One is the increase in production in all the spheres, the field, the factory and the office. The other is the Mobilisation effort. All the people, young and old, irrespective of their caste, creed and colour, and rank and file, have to be mobilized for the defence effort in facing this menace that is thrust upon us. The morale of the civilians and the jawans have to be boosted up.

With this view, this study has been undertaken. It is an attempt to show the various aspects of strenuous life in China under the communist regime. The inhuman treatment of the Chinese government, their regimentation and political indoctrination, and above all the throttling of the very initiative, has made their Government a mockery of the highest human values and an insult to the throbbing human heart. I have tried to show how such a system of government has become a great menace to their own people, their neighbours and the very human civilisation. The reader after his excursion through the book may judge, for himself or herself, the misgivings of the Chinese government and the ensuing menace to the free world; then he or she should resolve in his or her mind never to allow even the shadow of such system to fall on our sacred soil. That is the purpose of this book.

Both pro-communist and anti-communist readers may question the honesty and accuracy of the information given here on the ground that as compared with other reports, the Chinese communists in this account are either too good or not good enough. All that anyone can do in writing on such complex matters as revolutions and governments is to be true to himself; no two persons can see the same events in the same light. A mere change of terminology can greatly alter the moral implications of a policy or law and thereby make the statement on it agreeable or disagreeable to a reader. Besides the Chinese communists never deny the 'deviations' and 'defects' in 'particular' instance and how 'particular' the instances are usually revolves around a subtle point of moral interpretation rather than bare facts. After a decade of communist rule the Chinese government cannot easily hide the bare facts nor can its enemies easily distort them. Although sober documentation has not been plentiful and is perhaps too much to expect at this time, a fair picture of the Government's aims and methods can, without any difficulty, be formed out of a mixture of communist and anticommunist sources. In such a picture each man is bound to have some emotional colouring of his own, and also, since reliable statistics are not always available, his own estimates of the generality of certain conditions. Those who wish to discredit the incidents cited here may dismiss them as 'particular cases' if they find reasons for doing so. Since this book is not of the 'escape story' or 'true story' type in which it is important to convince the reader of the authenticity of the details, any doubt cast on the truth or generality of the incidents reported does no harm to its main thesis. The need for a pseudonym is regrettable in more senses than one, and its use should not, therefore, raise suspicion that it is a device to enhance sensationalism. The basic method of the Chinese government and the treatment of intellectuals are thoroughly documented in the Chinese Communist press to which one may resort for official information. It is on this basic method and this treatment, not on particular instances, that this book forms a personal commentary, and in so far as it is admittedly a

personal commentary there is no conscious incentive to give a false presentation.

Like the heroine of a modern novel who, having lived in Poland and England, found that people in both places could not understand her, this book may be a lonely one. If it is, there will be some who wish to ask what good it is likely to do anyone, because practical politics are not susceptible to the influence of books. To the author, writing of this book has helped to clarify what exactly his reactions to the Communist regime were and the questions he asked and the answers he found may help those who have to face the same psychological problem. As for contribution to the present situation, created by the Chinese aggression, the immense importance of the task and the negligible effect of such a book as this may be compared with the process of casting a vote in a democratic country in which, even though an individual vote will hardly affect the issue, it is the duty of every citizen to participate.

New Delhi. }
8th Sept. 1963. }

B. SHYAM SUNDER

CONTENTS

CHINA—BEFORE AND AFTER	-	-	15
WAR OF IDEOLOGIES -	-	-	20
INITIAL REVERSES—			
A GATEWAY TO VICTORY	-	-	24
CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST			
PARTY IN CHINA	-	-	31
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE	-	-	34
SOCIAL LIFE IN CHINA	-	-	38
RELIGION—A BYGONE DOGMA	-	-	42
EDUCATION—A POLITICAL			
INDOCTRINATION	-	-	47
SCIENTISTS IN CHINA—A GUIDED LOT	-		50

AN INTERVIEW WITH A MEDICAL GRADUATE	- - - - -	52
JUDICIARY—A CONTROLLED SYSTEM	-	55
AGRICULTURE	- - - - -	60
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA AND CHINA	- - - - -	64
IMBALANCE IN THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA	- - -	80
CONSUMPTION IN THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN IN CHINA	- - - - -	86
FOREIGN TRADE IN CHINA	- - -	90
PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS IN CHINA	-	92
CAPITAL-LABOUR RELATIONS IN CHINA	-	95
THE SOARING POPULATION	- - -	97
CHINESE DATA—A FALSIFICATION	-	101
CHINA'S PLAN FOR WORLD CONTROL	-	104
MAO TSE-TUNG FROM FARMER TO DICTATOR	- - - - -	107
ISOLATION AND SUICIDE	- - -	112

CHINA—BEFORE AND AFTER

WITH THE GUNS and tanks booming around us with our high Himalayas—the great abode of Lord Shankara—echoing with the roaring artilleries and grenades we are now facing a lamentable fact of current history. The horrible paws of the Chinese dragon have rested on our sacred frontiers all along the north-eastern borders. Never before peace-loving Indians could for a moment have harboured a suspicion as to the validity and stability of the friendship of our great neighbour. We fought and helped for their cause in the comity of the nations but were in turn betrayed and the result is 12000 sq. miles of our territory lies trampled under their feet. This great incident goes down in the history of the world as the darkest period for it involves two great countries of the globe. Today our honour and integrity are involved—we will defend it to the last drop of our blood. As our Prime Minister has rightly stated, the invaders have done more good to us than harm, as we are unified and have risen to one man and this constitutes a great force which should be properly channelised to achieve our objective. Let us not be disheartened by the earlier reverses for every failure is a challenge for the more determined effort. With our ever persistent desire for peace and friendship with our giant neighbour, we do not rest quiet in the event of an inevitable clash, but shall undoubtedly face it with a coupled strength—armed and moral—so as to teach the Chinese a great lesson. This is essentially a war of ideologies and the truth is bound to triumph and give its glow to the world. Let us now have a cross section of the situation in a flashback to judge for ourselves the trail of Chinese expansionism and adventurism.

We have a common border of 2200 miles between India and China (excluding the border of Sikkim, Bhutan, and

Tibet) which was an accepted fact for ages past till sporadic intrusions into our territory became more imminent. Clouds of suspicion gathered on the political horizon when the Chinese maps claimed 33000 sq. miles of Indian territory in the NEFA and about 15000 sq. miles in eastern Ladakh. Later in June 1955, the twenty century old India-China friendship received its first big jolt when the Chinese intruded into Bara Hoti trespassing the boundary of Uttar Pradesh. Several diplomatic exchanges and warnings and all alike were unheeded and proved abortive resulting in fresh intrusions more and more. Today 12,000 sq. miles of our sacred land has become alien to us and more menacing is the Chinese government's preposterous claim to over 50,000 sq. miles of our motherland. Probably China has tabooed our ideals and principles. She has not seen Bharatmata wearing the diamonds like Gandhi, Nehru, and Tagore on one side and Shivaji, Laxmibai, and Netaji on the other side each adding to her everlasting glow and graciousness since times immemorial.

The common border:—It is traditional, and has been well known for centuries supported by history, custom, ethnic affinities and the natural topography. The crest of the Himalayan mountains has been geographical principle of the watershed which has the sanction of specific international agreements. To be more explicit and elaborate the common border from NEFA to Kashmir can be divided into the Eastern, Central and Western Sectors.

Eastern Sector:—This was demarcated at a tripartite conference held in Simla from October 1913 to July 1914, with India, China, and Tibet being the signatories to the agreement with equal status. The sector east of Bhutan—the boundary between India and Tibet—was subsequently confirmed as the demarcated line after the acceptance—without any dissatisfaction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities. This was called the historic McMahon Line—much heard these days—(so called after McMahon, the British India representative at the Conference). This was nothing new but the traditional

one. There is much resemblance between the inhabitants of the various tribes south of the line and have the same ethnic affinities as the hill tribes of Assam. The exercise of the authority of the government of India has been long and continuous. Chinese government has never repudiated this alignment of the boundary, however more significantly in 1956-57 she substantiated the fact in her discussions with Burma where the McMahon line was recognised. This is a matter of self-contradiction that Chinese are presently doubting the validity of the agreement as it was signed by alien British authorities. Natural boundaries, traditional ones, are not the Chameleons to change according to the changing political wind. They have legal, cultural and international sanctity. However they have not repudiated the Sino-Burmese border—McMahon Line—though it was part of India under alien British rule. This reminds me of the wolf and lamb story where water was flowing from a high level and the lamb down below was accused of polluting the water by its blood-thirsty master, the wolf.

Central Sector:—This comprises of the three States, U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, the watersheds between the Sutlej and the Ganges (the Kali, Alaknanda and Vashaganga) in U.P., between the eastern and western tributaries of Sutlej in H.P., and between the Parecha and Spiti river systems in Punjab. Even Chinese maps have vindicated these facts as recently as 1958 and are supported by the revenue records.

Western Sector:—The boundary between Ladakh and Sinkiang and Tibet is 975 miles in length sanctified by custom and reaffirmed by the treaty of 1842 between Government of Kashmir on the one hand and Dalai Lama and empire of China. The other official maps of China have endorsed this fact subsequently.

Similarly Chinese Government have also claimed a large area of Bhutan—which is under Indian protection—and her border is clearly demarcated.

Common Endeavour:—India after August 1947, and people's Republic of China after October 1949 both launched on a career of unity, peace and progress for a better tomorrow. Any dispute between the two world giants seemed fantastic and thus gave rise to a great unified force. Malified Chinese intentions however arose when their maps appeared in 1951-52 showing about 33,000 sq. miles of our territory in NEFA and 15,000 sq. miles in Ladakh as their parts. This was followed by their quick revision of the maps. Later Trade treaty was signed in 1953. This was followed by a more significant fact of signing the Panchsheel between the two countries on 25th June 1954 and was reaffirmed at various levels.

The Violation:—Hardly had the ink of Panchsheel dried up than the Chinese started intruding in 1955 in Barahoti violating all the canons of international agreements and the Panchsheel, and since then it has been a long and painful story of a breach of faith, a betrayal of friendship, and a continuous act of aggression.

Switching on to the details of the aggression Chinese had made four more intrusions at Barahoti, Damzan, Neelang in U.P., and in Shipkila in Himachal Pradesh. This synchronized with the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister in 1956. They also completed a road in Aksai Chin region. This was confused by the Chinese Prime Minister's statement accepting McMahon Line as the border. The situation further worsened when intrusions were made into Khurak fort in Ladakh, and Sangcha Mall and Lapthal in U.P. with a patrol party in the Spiti area in 1957. In 1959 Chinese further intruded into Pangong lake in Ladakh, and camped at Spanggur. In August and October they entered Khingzeman and took Longju in NEFA and killed nine of the Indian party. This was followed by the Tibetan episode where Chinese troops entered in 1950 and took it by force, which was their ancestral philosophy right from the days of Changizkhan. This is a bloody trail of expansionism and military adventurism. That was the sad day and evil stroke of the providence that

Chinese were thus allowed to come close to us, to knock at our doorstep in the guise of friendship and Panchsheel.

In October 1957 they continued their aggression in Walong and Lohit frontier division in NEFA and pushed towards Khurnak fort in Ladakh and in Aksai Chin. It was Kongkaha in Ladakh the first to claim nine Indian casualties in 1959, after the fall of Longju in NEFA. Though the Chinese Prime Minister visited for the third time New Delhi in 1960 in the hope of a peaceful settlement, intrusions continued in Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh border. In 1961 they made four more attacks and this was continued by 8 more in Ladakh in 1962. The situation now is still more serious when the Indian Government has proclaimed emergency and the whole nation is wild and hot with patriotic iron fumes to retaliate the aggressor. Even now Chinese are advancing a make believe story to enter into negotiations. But it is too vital a fact that talks cannot take place without a suitable climate and under duress. No feasible solution can be offered at the bayonet point and under the garb of aggression.

The challenge shall be met.

In the wake of loud and soothing slogans of 'Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai' echoed from the far off corners of the two countries, it has now yielded place to the rattling of the swords, and mooring of the guns and tanks. It is an irony of fate. India is a peace-loving nation and a non-aligned country and will not deviate from her course mapped out, however strong the menace might be. It is in our very blood to fight for our honour, integrity and independence and we stand firm to steel our determination to safeguard our sacred soil. China has thrown a gauntlet of challenge not only to India and Asia but to the whole world and we accept it with great zeal—military, moral, and economic—so as not to mar the course of history. We are bound to succeed as we are identified with a genuine and noble cause and we shall consider no sacrifice too great to protect the honour, integrity and sovereignty of the motherland.

WAR OF IDEOLOGIES

IT IS AN IRONY of fate and a miscalculated stroke of the Providence, that the ink of the Panchsheel has dried up so soon and the soothing slogans of 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai' have yielded place to the roaring of the guns and loud blasts of the invader. None in the world and much more India could ever imagine the betrayal of our genuine friendship in the wake of Panchsheel and Bandung spirit. Thereby expansionist China has thrown a gauntlet of challenge not only to India, but to Asia and the whole world. It is not a war for the border claims—for mountainous cold region—appearing from its face value but is essentially a war of ideologies. India is firm in her ideals and policies—though decried by the vested quarters—and has resolved to steel her determination to throw off the aggressor 'come what may'. In this stupendous and uphill task, we shall not consider any sacrifice too great to protect the honour, integrity and the sovereignty of the motherland. Our esteemed Prime Minister has aptly stated that Chinese have done more good to us than harm for they have brought in a complete unification of the country which is a force of great magnitude—military, moral, and economic—which like a beacon of light will steer its way into the dreary darkness of the mind of the Chinese dragon and shall bring a bright dawn on our frontier horizon. Evil will die and get buried and righteousness and truth shall triumph.

If we just analyse the causative factors for the chinks to resort to this treacherous betrayal, the obvious answer seems to be internal fear arising out of the total dissatisfaction on the Chinese mainland and this was coupled by the jealousy for India. The tenets of expansionism, military adventurism, and the outplay of might have been inherent in the blood

of Chinese right from the days of Chengiskhan and the Han dynasties. India after its independence in 1947 set out on a peaceloving policy and embarked on a planned programme for national reconstruction to usher in an era of progress and socialistic pattern of society. After a couple of years People's Republic of China came into existence and embarked on a similar endeavour. Today the picture of India is entirely changed as against a decade and a half ago. One feels thrilled and enthused to see the giant river valley projects with their vast catchment area ready to feed millions of acres of thirsty land; with their bright illumined powerhouses generating thousands of Kilowatts of power to drive out darkness from millions of rural homes; and a vast network of these spread out throughout the country. These dams coupled with establishment of giant steel plants with an ingot capacity of thousands of tons that feed the nation's transport and industry, have become the modern places of pilgrimage where the God of plenty rules. The development has been allsided with an increased industrial potential, mass literacy, and cultural advancement. No nation seems to have developed at this pace in such a short span of time, and this remains a precedent to all the underdeveloped nations of the world.

On the contrary China with its teeming millions and vast resources could not cope up with our pace, so much so they have not fulfilled the primary needs of life—food, clothing and shelter. They gave full expression to the Malthusian theory, that the population increases in a geometrical progression, than the means of livelihood. This resulted in their economic crisis and the area of starvation grew more and more. Migration of millions of Chinese to and causing havoc in Hong Kong, figured recently, bears testimony to the above fact. Mass discontent grew to a boiling point and it is said a civil strife was imminent on the mainland. This was the grave danger the rulers of the Chinese government were confronted with and they were panicky and restless to hammer out a solution. Obviously they found the answer, in invading

India under the guise of the border dispute, and under the false pretext of India's aggression on their frontiers. Thus they were successful in diverting their mass attention from the internal discontent to an external threat. Thus they stitched the lips of the millions of hungry mouths diverting them towards imaginary bayonet point of India.

Secondly ideological conflict too has added fuel to the present conflagration. India is the largest democracy in the world at present and has successfully carried on, with a parliamentary type of experiment. Furthermore she has given constitutional safeguards for the freedom of speech, action and other fundamental rights. We have a stable administration under one government, one party, and one man. Our beloved Prime Minister has piloted the ship of the state since a decade and a half and this is a unique example in the world. Under his able leadership and firm support Afro-Asian countries could liquidate Colonialism and become independent. It was he who gave them courage and hope and made them play active role in the international arena. The neutralism is the outcome of it recognized by the two great blocks. All these and a score of other instances made him a dynamic and undisputed leader of Afro-Asian continents. China could not tolerate democracy being introduced and made to triumph among 430 million people of India. They were aware of the fact, that if India allowed to continue her progress she will definitely grow stronger and might become the non-challengeable leader of the world. She might usher in a welfare state and Ram Rajya, which might stimulate the people of China. They could not even stand the sight of rapid progress made in India. Furthermore they had evil designs to run down the leadership of our Prime Minister in Afro-Asian block and his dynamic progress in the international politics. Perhaps they do not know that no individual or nation can change the destiny of the other individual or nation by provocation or coercion. India is safe in the hands of her leader who is a great humanist and messiah of peace. India has produced him, the world has recognised him, and the Chinese

have to accept him. Lastly China with her violent communism, is building castles in the air, to take over the leadership of international communism, thereby she has lost the sympathies of her great brother. Now she stands isolated from her own block and the rest of the world and it is time for us to put her under trial and pass a verdict of punishment.

Let everyone of us do our best in the field, the factory, and the office and make the Chinese dragon captive to bow to the glorious feet of our Bharatmata in apology for her mad acts and in assurance never to repeat them.

INITIAL REVERSES—A GATEWAY TO VICTORY

INDIA attacked by her great neighbour. Frontier posts fall one by one. Thousands of miles of our sacred land lies trampled under the feet of the aggressor. That was the sum up of the unscrupulous enemy's expansionist tendencies, which made the head lines of the press and the topics for the mass rallies. Indian tricolour flying atop with her majestic and peaceful rhythm in the comity of the nations suffered its reverses in NEFA against the huge encounter of the enemy in the guise of a large human wave. The determined heroic fight and the ensuing heavy casualties to the invaders bears testimony to the fact that our Jawan's mind is made up of the fibre of steel in resisting the enemies to the last drop of their blood. The sad saga of the fall of our frontier posts as Walong, Tuwang, Gilling, Kibitoo and Bomdila has unfortunately come within the fold of criticism from many a people. Much capital is made out of our initial reverses as if they were the unique instances in the history of the world and her wars. There is no point in getting excited by these failures which is reminiscent of the withdrawal in Dunkirk, in the history of the second world war, where two powerful allies were made to withdraw against the heavy onslaught of Nazi invaders. My present purpose is to give a brief anecdote of the 'Dunkirk Crisis' and its planned withdrawal.

It was in the year 1940 May the 18th when the second stage for the spread of the flames was set to engulf the whole continent; England and France entered into an alliance. The speed and force and width and depth of the German offensive were something new in war to the students of former campaigns and they were forced to apply their minds to a situation several hours and even days out of date.

GRAND STRATEGY

It was denied by the defence committee (operations) held in the admiralty on the night of 19th May, that the British force should move southwards towards Amiens and join the French at Somme. If necessary the channel ports should be abandoned and the Cohesion with the Belgians too, for the sacrifice would not help them. Lord Gort was to operate south of Arras with a small force on the 21st element of the British Infantry Divisions (5th & 50th) and the first army tank brigade should cooperate with French cavalry to encounter superior German numbers. Meanwhile General Weygand on the French side submitted a plan to attack the gap created by the enemy. This was impracticable and hence given up. According to him Belgians should withdraw to Yser, and the British and French army should attack southwestwards with the day and night help of the Royal Air force. Meanwhile the swift Germans had been sweeping to the sea and the result was Boulogne fell on the 25th, and Calais on 26th in each case after desperate fighting. Late on the night of the 25th General Blanchard ordered the retirement of the allied force in the north behind the 'lys' to form a bridgehead covering Dunkirk. The British Defence Committee decided that Lord Gort should march north to the coast and that the Navy should prepare all possible means for reembarkation not only at the ports but at the beaches. This was approved by the Cabinet and after Reynaud's assent was conveyed to Gort for 'operation dynamo' for evacuating the army by the order of the admiralty on 26th May 1940 (6-57 p.m.).

OPERATION DYNAMO

After the loss of Boulogne and Calais the remains of the port of Dunkirk and the open beaches next to the Belgian frontier were the only possessions of the allied forces. It was anticipated that only 4,500 men could be rescued in next two days. This was the stupendous task of the full evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force. On May 27 emergency

measures were taken to find additional small craft, "for a special requirement" as termed by Sir Winston Churchill, and by the night of 27th a great tide of small vessels reached channel ports and the beaches of Dunkirk. This was aided by the brilliant improvisation of volunteers on an amazing scale. This effort continued despite the ceaseless airbombardment of the enemy; resulting in the massing of 860 vessels, by 29th May 1940.

The following is the list of the ships that helped the great task.

BRITISH SHIPS

A. A. Cruiser	1	—	—
Destroyers	39	6	19
Sloopes, Corvettes, & Gunboats	5	1	1
Minesweepers	36	5	7
Trawlers and Drifters	77	17	6
Special service vessels	3	1	—
Motor Torpedo-Boats and Motor antisubmarine boats	4	—	—
Armed boarding vessels	3	1	1
Naval Crews	40	4	Unrecorded
Yachts	26	3	-do-
Personnel ships	45	8	8
Hospital Carriers	8	1	5
Naval Crews	40	4	Unrecorded
Tugs	22	3	-do-
Other small craft	372	170	-do-
Total	693	226	—

ALLIED SHIPS

Warships (all type)	49	8	Unrecorded
Other ships & craft	119	9	-do-
Total	168	17	—
Grand total	861	243	—

It was Hitler's belief that the proposed evacuation would be made impossible by the German Air Force, so he kept his army for a later stroke. This was however a mistaken notion, as proved by the little harm caused to the masses by incessant air bombardment; the unforeseen slaughter of German airmen running in scores to hundreds, and finally the calm favourable sea making the mosquito armada unsinkable. Thus in the midst of defeat, glory came to the island people, united and unconquerable, rendering the tale of the Dunkirk beaches a glowing colour.

Now switching on to the other theatre at the Dunkirk harbour, Lord Gort's position became critical on the evening of the 27th, and signals were dispatched for all available craft. The picture was grim and desperate. The call was answered by the despatch of a cruiser, eight destroyers and 26 other vessels. On 28th the position on land was stabilized by the R.A.F. By this 50,000 from Dunkirk and the beaches were evacuated, and another 30,000 were to follow. Meanwhile the Prime Minister, Churchill, reinforced the B.E.F. by bringing regulars from India and Palestine, Australians and Canadians. On the 30th the total number of troops brought off had risen to 1,20,000 including 6,000 French, with 860 vessels at work. During this effort Mr. Churchill emphasized the need of evacuating more French troops so as not to harm the relations with the ally. Then the Prime Minister wrote to Lord Gort at 2-00 p.m. on the 30th to embark and return to England after such reduction of his command as to hand over to Major General Alexander and return to England. This timely and sagacious move of the great statesman saved for all the future glorious services of the great commander who would otherwise have been a German captive. This great instance was later followed by the return call of General MacArthur, when the American Garrison at Corregidor was much reduced in the Japanese war. Then the Prime Minister flew to Dunkirk and found that 1,65,000 men have been evacuated. The French Premier Reynaud paid a handsome tribute to the work of the British navy and airforce when the number

rose to 2,00,000. Sir Churchill emphasized the need to be vigilant and strike Italy too if she invades, for in the event of German victory everything they have built up will be destroyed. The Germans kill not only men but ideas. Similarly we too are now confronted with the Chinese aggressors who are out to kill our ideals of democracy. We will not allow this and our people are resolved to retaliate as never before in their history.

SUCCESSFUL EVACUATION

The climax of the Dunkirk situation reached on May 31 and June 1 with safety landing of 1,32,000 men in England (in these two days), despite shell fire and often timed fierce air attacks, when Royal fighters had withdrawn to refuel. These took a heavy toll. The final phase at the dawn on June 2 about 400 British with 7 antiaircraft guns and 12 antitank guns, with considerable French forces remained on the outskirts of Dunkirk holding the contracting perimeter. Admiral Ramsay with much skill and precision made the possible evacuation in darkness. Thus by midnight the British rearguard was embarked. Despite the exhaustion of ships' companies after so many days of work without rest or respite, on June 4, 26,175 French men were landed in England in British and French ships. This was rejoicing news for France. The total number of men landed in England by the 'operation dynamo' is 3,36,427. Finally at 2.23 p.m. that day 'operation dynamo' was completed and the Dunkirk story was ended in a magnificent and tactful way. Sir Churchill was careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. 'Wars are not won by evacuations', he said.

The speech of Sir Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on June 4 can least be passed over, which applies well to our present emergency.

"I have myself full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again

able to defend our island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outline the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. That is the will of the Parliament and the nation. Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous states have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving then our empire beyond the seas armed and guarded by the British fleet, would carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, the new world, with its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old".

Out of thousands of anecdotes that crowd the columns of the history of two great wars, withdrawal at Dunkirk, is not the solitary instance but is followed by still noble ones. America despite her recognised military potentialities was forced to follow likewise in Pearl Harbour in Pacific when ~~Nazis~~ attacked on Dec. 7, 1941. Later they were again confronted with a similar situation in the Korean war when the renowned commander, General MacArthur, was called back from the theatre of war. They were facing the same enemy which we now do; and were fortunate enough to fight on land and not on a difficult and hazardous terrain as Himalayas. So our NEFA reverses are not the unique ones, rather it is a challenge to face the situation with more determined effort. It is an accepted and an experienced fact that the invader is always at the advantage for he had long planned and prepared for it, and the victim at loss in the initial stages. But complacent victim once raises to his feet he is like a giant and falls upon the intruder to strike at the very vitals of his life by his remarkable conserved energy during his dormancy.

What we are raging on the frontiers of India is a war to vindicate righteousness. We shall not allow the aggressor to smother our freedom, religion, and the life of the spirit through Asia, or else we care to exist. Our task is hard and the time is short. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest to the smallest from the huge steel, automobile industry to the village machine shop. War costs money—that means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means an all out war by individual effort and family effort in a united country. We must guard against complacency and not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning, cruel and ruthless. Our Prime Minister has solemnly pledged to drive out the aggressors from our land. His leadership—the product of history—is indispensable.

CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CHINA

THE COMMUNISTS speak of themselves as a party. In Red China the party operates more like an army than a political party. It is trained under military discipline. Communists of China talk of "elections", "representatives", "constitution", and "Congress", but these words mean something different from what you would expect. The voters have no choice among candidates; the party tells them whom to vote for.

In 1920 the Communist International sent an agent named Voitinsky to Shanghai. It synchronized with the Chinese revolution whose leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was trying to create a democratic government in China. He was the pioneer of the Kuomintang, or the National peoples' party. He did not approve of communist teachings. Because of the efficiency of the organization he sought the help of the Communist International in Moscow to reorganise the Kuomintang. Naturally Russia was glad to oblige. Michael Borodin was assigned to fit China with "tailor made" communism. Sun Yat-sen had the fervent desire to put down the warlords, who were little better than bandits controlling many provinces. In his eagerness to strengthen the Kuomintang he failed to realize the danger of relying on communist advisers. The result was Borodin concentrated on infiltrating his agents into the Kuomintang. Thus after his death in 1925, Borodin and other communists held many strategic positions in the Kuomintang and almost controlled the party. Then Chiang Kai-shek, one of Sun Yat-sen's chief aides, realized the danger. Despite his long, exhausting struggle he could not rid China of the Communists. Borodin and his men had left deep roots. The young blood adhered to the communist leadership in the hope of finding a quick cure for their many problems.

In 1927 the Kuomintang controlled the government and set out to build a united republic. But Chiang Kai-shek had difficult time in facing the two-pronged attack, the communist guerilla bands and the armies of the old warlords. Meanwhile Japan had long sought to control China and they found this an opportune time. Communists gave only half-hearted support to Chiang's fight against Japan. Mao Tse-tung, a young recruit to communism idolizing Lenin and Stalin, accepted the idea of revolution by violence. He planned for a Chinese dictatorship. He was the pivot of the civil war fought against the Kuomintang, off and on, for more than twenty years. In 1931 Mao Tse-tung and his communists held on to their base in North China. The communists renewed the civil war with Russian support at the end of second World War. Stalin gave all weapons to Mao Tse-tung surrendered by the Japanese armies. Later Chiang was forced to compromise with the Communists but he did not yield. He adopted a new constitution and became the elected President of the Republic of the China. The civil war broke out again and the communists swept south. However in 1949 Chiang Kai-shek had to flee to the island of Formosa or Taiwan where he established a representative government and continues today. They have carried out land reforms that permit Chinese farmers to own their own farms.

By 1949 Mao Tse-tung became the sole dictator after having "liberated" or conquered China. The communist party is organised into a pyramid with humble peasants and workers at the bottom and a politburo at the top. In 1951 party membership had scarcely reached six million out of a population of 560 millions. From the beginning Chinese communists followed Marxist-Leninist teachings almost slavishly. "With prompt obedience," said Mao, "we should not merely learn Marxist-Leninist words and phrases, but also study it as the science of revolution". He claims his party belongs to a Congress made up of delegates from party units throughout the provinces. But the Congress seldom meets and its members are handpicked by Politburo agents. Dictator

Mao uses purges to get rid of any opposition in the party. They are punished and even sent to slave labour camps. Mao's treatment to Chinese land-owners is even more brutal. By 1960 about 14 million Chinese communist party members ruled some 670 million Chinese. The party membership which includes a tiny fraction of the total population, denotes the widespread dissatisfaction. The party is just like a military organization demanding absolute obedience. It is not surprising if such a party arrogates itself and invades its peaceful neighbours.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

DAY BY DAY Peking's policy about India and her neighbours takes on new aggressive aspects. Aggression need not necessarily be only physical. It can take many forms. Peking's purpose is to subvert the democratic governments from within, if possible, and from without if necessary. The modus operandi is varied in accordance with the 'nuclei of discontent' present in various countries. The political parties of the opposition are exploited for this purpose and given an impetus for revolt. gi

China has invaded India. They have attacked on a large scale. The people of India have received a first big jolt since their Independence. It is an unusual case in the pages of Indian history. Protest notes followed, guns roared and border areas annexed. Then silence again. Chinese have announced a unilateral cease fire. They have retreated to their imaginary line of control.

However, smoke continues to come out from the political chimney. The military fight has ceased. Psychological warfare has started instead. The government of China has tried to create a 'war of nerves' by resorting to various methods.

Firstly they have strengthened their political indoctrination on the mainland in great measure. False reports, relating to Prime Minister Nehru and his policies, have been circulated in large number to the people of China. With the result they brand him an aggressor and a dictator. They are trained for that and have no choice to do otherwise. India has been accused of betraying her policy of non-alignment and joining the western camp. She has been dubbed as imperialist and expansionist. They have gone even to the extent of discover-

ing an alliance in the joint communique of Radhakrishnan and Kennedy, during the former's recent visit to America.

Secondly Chinese have also indulged in the brainwashing of our prisoners of war. This is sheer violation of the Geneva convention. They have tried to subvert their loyalty by resorting to intimidation and indoctrination. Efforts have been made to break the morale of prisoners by ill-treating them in many ways. Bad food was one of the weapons. They have openly flouted articles 13 and 17 of the Geneva Convention governing treatment of prisoners of war. Article 13 provides for protection of prisoners against intimidation and article 17 precludes prisoners from giving any information except their credentials. Prisoners were forced to give all information regarding their political persuasion, officers' commands, and location of camps. Those reluctant were taken to the banks of a bitterly cold stream where 'persuasion' was continued under the threat of immersion. Prisoners were allowed to read only communist pamphlets and books and listen to radio Peking only. Propaganda was carried out telling them that the Indian government was a lackey of American capitalists. They have prohibited practising religion in contravention of Article 34 of the Geneva Convention.

Chinese Communists have resorted to all these methods, with a mere purpose of disturbing the psychological balance of our jawans and military officials. However, they have failed to do so. Our jawans could not be exploited as they were made up of the fibre of steel, in their hearts.

Thirdly Chinese have also started to create psychological terror by inciting civil strife in the neighbouring countries. It is a mere show of military power and physical strength. The recent uprisings of the tribal people and the ensuing clash in Thailand—it has been proved for certain that it has been master-minded by China. A 'no war' pact has also been signed with the Government of outer Mongolia to show their added strength and goodwill of the neighbours.

None will be surprised if these neighbours are invaded by China in the immediate future. They have walked into the Chinese trap. Still another effort, of like nature, has been made, by signing a border-agreement with Pakistan, an ever-hostile country towards India. Despite the military alliance with America, Pakistan is being wooed, as they have both much in common against India. Pakistan's ingratitude towards its great feeder is bound to have its repercussions and will lead to the death trap. This has definitely set in a wave of 'neurotic-phobia', but India has withstood the impact of 'cold war' and brought to light the 'Dragon-plot'. China still holds this 'trump' in her political game.

Chinese Communists have recently made unofficial statements regarding their scientific advancement. They are in the run for testing a nuclear weapon. One might very well doubt the validity of the statement and the truth underlying the scientific progress. The statement is speculative and a calculated one. It was misfired. India is not alarmed at the prospect of Chinese blast. It is almost a bluff. Even if it is true, India is not at all lagging behind in her nuclear progress, hence no room for nervousness. With several top-ranking nuclear scientists and the two Atomic reactors, India has been capable of designing a bomb long ago. However she has not done it so far as she is the champion of peace and disarmament. She is addicted to non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. China has not been successful in this effort too.

A still another effort is being made. That is through Radio Peking. Regular news bulletins and information features are broadcast in various regional languages of India. This, they hoped, will create panic among Indian listeners and breed in them distrust and contempt for the Nehru government. However, Indian government has tactfully handled the situation and has counter-broadcast bulletins and informative talks. A regular feature 'India and the Dragon' has been started by A.I.R. to inform its innumerable listeners, about the life and policies of China. This has helped in mo-

bilisation and in boosting up the morale of the country and her fighting forces.

Finally a word about the Chinese imaginary charges and protest notes. They have been regularly accusing India, of harassing and torturing Chinese residents in India. There is not even an iota of truth in their imaginary charges. Ours is not a dictatorial or a totalitarian state. In spite of Emergency there is freedom of press and speech. The mere fact that there is no criticism whatsoever about the treatment of Chinese internees, in any of the public medium, bears testimony to the fact that the Chinese government's charges are fantastic and 'brain-born'. So far internees have been repatriated without loss of life and property of anyone. The recent incidents at the Deoli Camp, show that the Chinese diplomats are more coercive and of quarrel-provoking nature. Their constant, unnecessary protest notes with regard to imaginary violation of airspace and intrusion into their territory, are also baseless, and preconceived ones. Indian people have turned a deaf ear to their malicious statements.

SOCIAL LIFE IN CHINA

THE GOVERNMENT of China, as elsewhere, professes to aim at the uplift of the masses and the removal of the privileged, with equal status for all. It involves eradication of the older concepts. The process is one of conversion. The Government call it study but critics call it brainwashing. The process is not intellectual, but persuasive, and is designed to indoctrinate, not to stimulate thought. The pattern is one of focussing on control of thought and action, with the result the people's welfare is a secondary objective. It may be recalled that Sun Yat-sen pointed out that self-respect and national loyalty were lacking in China which he hoped to instill in them through tutelage.

The above process is mentally painful in China. It is difficult for literate men and women to accept indoctrination in place of education. The deviants (the unaccommodating men) have no prospects of a career, however the possibility of imprisonment is always present. Sons of distinguished scholars—of such great minds as Hu Shi and Liang Chi-Chiao—have been compelled to denounce their father, the most heinous crime in the catalogue of the family system. Similarly all men of learning are forced to publish statements in conformity with the policy of the state. It is by terror tactics that the Government is forcing its people to accept the tailor-made socialization. The fear motivated by the presence of the police and the army units in the countryside have forced the peasant to accept the collectivization of the land and the office workers to go into the fields. An official directive in November 1956 issued by the state reveals the burning of the placards, handbills, and strike activities. The dissatisfaction has to be swallowed down the throat with the bayonet pointed towards one's chest.

EDUCATION

It is directed towards sloughing off the old reliance upon the traditional culture, to be replaced by the scientific and practical knowledge. A gradual romanization was brought in by abolishing the ideographs. The study of Russian has been introduced in special schools. The students were taught by party men by radio. Russian books have been translated by the hundred and published by the million.

Elementary education through middle school, covers eleven years. Public education is free. Workers and peasants are admitted to middle schools, for spare time study. But the nature of education imparted is onesided and twisted to suit the ideology. This will not lead to the real mental expansion of the personality. University curriculums are patterned upon those of Russia and few of them have transformed into scientific initiative and creative talents to bear fruits.

THE FINE ARTS

It is surprising that Mao Tse-tung being a dictator is also a poet. It might be well expected of him, who writes with imagination to encourage that talent in others too. Reverse is the case. He has ordered that all arts—literature, painting, music and the rest—shall serve the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers. However this does not inhibit creativeness but does restrict the creative mind of the artist. They are communist tools and must follow party directives. They should confine themselves to subjects of social significance, must present either Mao or some labour hero and denounce other social systems. They expose their own ignorance by calling western art forms as “bourgeois imaginative writing” and their music as insensitive to social problems. In spite of the state control, the Chinese art and literature have kept vigour and in many examples lyrical beauty. Tsao-Tu, a dramatist with superior talents, has been equated with the repute of Shakespeare. It is strange enough that

Mao Tse-tung has always given a double talk. He should either revise his guidebook "China's new Literature and Art" or admit to hypocrisy in his "Hundred Flowers" wherein he says, "Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles. They should be having freedom of thought."

RELIGION

It is a state tool and is used to support Communists. All sects which accept the Government's policies, methods and censorship are permitted to hold services. However they are not required to preach Marxism or Maoism, but they should not question the action of the officials. In a subtle way all sects are the allies of the Government. It is paradoxical that the huge Buddhist temple, the Lama temple, has been repaired from its dilapidated condition, while the nearby Confucian temple remains without repair. Buddhism is quite in line with authoritarian communism. The Lamaism is treated gently to win Tibetan confidence. Chinese people find their ethical code in Confucianism and their rites for births, marriages and funerals in Buddhism or Taoism. The great uneducated mass is superstitious, believing in the good spirits and building spirit walls in front of their doors to keep out the devil spirits from entrance. They believe in the Confucian doctrine that the soul can no more exist without the body than the sharpness without knife.

WOMEN

In China women have their legal equality with men. However some drastic changes have been made. By the marriage law of 1950 the parental choice of a mate has been replaced with free personal choice. It abolishes bigamy, concubinage and the exaction of money or other free gifts in connection with marriage. Widow remarriage is permitted.

The women have now a new deal with the Mao regime. By his decree the children are brought up in nurseries and

boarding schools to enable their mothers to work for the state. Family life is interrupted as husbands are moved *en masse* on Government projects. The divorce figure has risen to two million annually. Infanticide and abandoning of the children has also increased. Besides poverty, they are related to the "depth and complexity of the moral and spiritual crisis" of contemporary family life in China.

RELIGION—A BYGONE DOGMA

WE ARE LIVING in an age of science. It is the man's inherent faculty of reasoning that has demarcated him from the line of brutes. Science is the outcome of this faculty. On the other side is the religion. It is based on implicit faith and self-surrender to the Supreme decree. The practice of religion gives a strange solace to one's mind with inexplicable joy and contentment. So the institutions where it is practised and the followers who cling to it, should be encouraged in full measure, and should be kept away from the high hands of the politics. Political interference smothers the very spirit of Divinity and the subtler values of life.

Religion in China today is a bygone dogma. It is free only as the various denominations do exactly what Peking tells them to do through its politically controlled "patriotic" associations. Peking refuses to recognize the existence of any system, religious or otherwise, which demands a loyalty, transcending loyalty, to the communist party.

This fact underscores the regime's whole approach to religion.

Marx's indictment of religion as "opiate of the people" and Lenin's declaration that "science and religion are incompatible concepts" and that "the communist state works for the glory of science and this is incompatible with religion" therefore form the basis for the Chinese communist view of all religion. However, the regime has highly publicized claims of toleration and "freedom" to practise religious beliefs without interference. Still more contradictory is the address of the Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung to a Tibetan delegation on October 19, 1952 where he said: "The communist party's policy is to protect religion. Believers and

non-believers, followers of one religion or another, all enjoy the same protection. Now and in the future, the communist party is adopting and will adopt a policy of protecting religion”.

Mao's statement contrasts vividly with the declaration of Ho Chen-Hsiang, head of the bureau of Religious affairs, that “when we teach science and general knowledge in the schools we never lose an opportunity to expose religion as a superstition”.

Peking's control of all religious faiths has been achieved gradually through persuasion, pressure and persecution. These oppressive measures culminated in the forced conversion of each religious group into a front or “patriotic” organization.

There are four schools of faith practised on the mainland China today. These are Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Besides these, there are other schools too, viz., Confucianism, which has a small following. All these have been classified under Popular Religion, which was exempt from communist pressures until 1958.

TAOISM

It is a school of secret societies, based on Mysticism. It is moribund as a religion. It has suffered severely under CPC for two reasons. Firstly the followers aim at political and social power and secondly they have no offshoots or connections in other Asian countries which might have deterred the CPC from repressing it. Thus they have been subjected to not only organizational control and hostile propaganda but to outright persecution. a

BUDDHISM

It has been a vigorous school of faith in modern China. It has numerous co-religionists elsewhere in Asia. Thus the axe has not fallen so severely on it, as on Taoism. This doesn't mean it has escaped pressure. Buddhist monks have occasionally been executed as “counter-revolutionaries” and

a much larger number have been forcibly returned to secular life and compelled to take up "productive labour". Land and buildings belonging to Buddhist monasteries have been confiscated on a large scale under the guise of "agrarian reform". Buddhist monks and laymen, in addition to receiving the usual political indoctrination given to virtually everyone in communist China, have been asked to accept the idea that Buddhism and Communism are compatible and that the former can only grow in an environment controlled by the CPC.

In Tibet, the expropriation of some monastery lands and efforts by the CPC, to monopolize the instruction of the youth were the immediate causes of widespread revolts in 1956 and are still in progress today. These have produced some temporary modifications in the CPC's timetable for "reforms" in Tibet, but no fundamental changes in policy.

In June 1960, a Legal Inquiry Committee was formed in response to various allegations made against the CPC authorities who indulged in ruthless suppression of Tibetan Buddhists. The Committee in its report found that the Communist Chinese had made a deliberate attempt to destroy the Buddhist religious system in Tibet and to eradicate religious belief. Atrocities included destruction of monasteries, and the killing, torture and public humiliation of religious leaders and monks. Tibetan children had been forcibly taken away to prevent them from a religious upbringing."

In the guise of a patriotic organization, "Buddhist Association of China" has been formed on June 8, 1953, which is busy in propaganda, inquiries, and indoctrination of the Buddhist followers.

ISLAM

As for the figures of the CPC, there are 10 million Moslems in China, among whom 6 million are Hui's (Chinese speaking Moslems) and 3.5 million are Uighurs. They have been further subdivided into ten national minorities, to prevent united action on their part, each is placed under a cen-

tralized control which is not only communist but Chinese in character. Thus the Moslems are treated merely as a group of racial minorities, and hence have no national status. The figure as quoted elsewhere for the Moslem population is 70 million inhabiting north-west and south-west of China. It is ridiculous the government calls them a minority.

The pattern employed to weaken the Moslem community before its ultimate submission was the same used in every case—intimidation, threats and finally coercion.

Mosques and schools were closed or destroyed and the mullahs (priests) scattered in various regions. Children were denied the right to enter religious schools and encouraged instead to join communist youth groups, which demand unqualified acceptance of an aesthetic creed. These policies provoked armed revolts by Kazakhs in Sinkiang and by Hui in Kansu in 1952, which were ruthlessly suppressed. An Institute of Islamic theology was established by the CPC in 1955, to give political instruction, including indoctrination in Marxism-Leninism. Another blow to Islamic culture was the replacement of the Arabic by the Cyrillic alphabet in Sinkiang in 1956.

CHRISTIANITY

It has been the central target of Chinese communist religious policy, as the Christian churches are supported by the western countries. In the initial stages a policy of 'Toleration' was practised, but later resorted to persecution of Protestant and Catholic denominations in 1950. A 'Reform Manifesto' was published demanding and inviting support of communism. Protestants were ordered to throw off "the yoke of western ideology". Those who refused to compromise were either jailed for "political crimes" or executed. Missionaries were accused of being imperialist agents and were charged with being "counter-revolutionaries". Several thousand missionaries have been forced to leave China. Their schools, colleges, and hospitals were seized and converted into state institutions.

The Roman Catholic church, because of its spiritual ties with the Vatican, has been attacked bitterly. Missionaries, nuns, and priests have been condemned to prison after staged show-case trials. There are now approximately 3 million catholics in the mainland who cannot practise their faith because of the shortage of priests and bishops.

The CPC's current anti-religious campaign is marked by an intensification of organizational control over the various religions, especially Christianity. On the grounds of superstition and extravagance many local cults and festivals have been abolished. Religious holidays have been converted into working days, and religious images have been converted to economic purposes. The traditional Chinese burial customs have been discouraged. None can mourn after the departed soul, coffins have been largely discouraged and cremation increased. Old tombs have been obliterated. Some of them have been converted into latrines, or manure carriers. In some cases decomposed bodies are used as fertilizers.

This has totally eliminated Religion in China.

CONCLUSION

From this survey of Chinese Communist policy towards Religion, it is clear that CPC has used manipulation, propaganda, and terror to banish religion from their mainland. They have destroyed the sociological and ideological bases of the Religions. They have cast to winds the high values of spirituality. They shall never have the goodwill of the Providence on their side, conversely they are heading towards their extinction. They shall have what they deserve.

EDUCATION—A POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION

EDUCATION is the progress of transformation of an individual from a raw being to a polished personality. It is a gateway to all knowledge in the world and a bridging link between the past, present and the future. It is a medium through which he or she becomes a real human being with all the finer elements imbibed in full measure. Liberal education is the acute need of the hour. For this a clear and unpolluted atmosphere is needed in all the temples of learning, the schools, colleges and universities. Politics should keep off from these citadels of knowledge and power.

Chinese communists have not even spared this field. In fact indoctrination is carried on, in one of the most effective forms, in this field. They define education as transmission of technical knowledge. The nature of education is viewed in terms of a class-conscious ideology. That is, education should serve the people in general. This is a veiled secret. The real purpose is to serve the dictates of the self-appointed representatives of these classes—the communist party. They had planned to extend education to cadres of workers of peasant origin, for workers in general, and to promote the literacy campaign in liquidating illiteracy on a nation-wide scale. As for Mao's statement illiteracy was to be eliminated from 80 per cent of the population. So 'night schools' were started in 1949, for the peasants.

In their efforts for speeding up the elimination of illiteracy, they were confronted with many a problem. The most pressing one was the simplification of the complicated ideograph of the Chinese language. In 1951 Mao Tse-tung gave a 'reform idea' to be carried out in three phases : simplification, standardization, and phoneticization. On February 10, 1956,

the Peking regime adopted a new thirty-letter alphabet. This measure in fact was to preclude the use of Russian cyrillic alphabet at a later date.

Let us now look to the regular school system. The statistics show a steady growth at all levels. By 1950 there were 227 colleges with 134,000 students; 3,690 secondary schools with 1,090,000 students and 212,890 primary schools with 16,000,000 pupils. An overall improvement of 7.5 per cent every 4 years has been reported.

The anxious programme of rapid industrialization, has given rise to new problems. The scarcity of trained technicians and skilled workers was increasingly felt. As a result, measures for 'large-scale' education were withdrawn because of shortage of funds. Efforts were concentrated in the areas of greater population density to discover skilled talent. Due to this, quality of teaching suffered a lot. At present the educational standards of half the middle school teachers are lower than those of the average college graduates, while the standards of nearly 50 per cent of primary school teachers are lower to that of a middle-school graduate. The regime thus discouraged the trend for higher learning and channelized the middle school graduates towards agricultural production. Meanwhile steps to 'reform' higher education were taken. All the universities, colleges, and technical schools were brought within the fold of the state system. The period of study was shortened. Emphasis was shifted to scientific and technical training.

The Education Ministry chalked out new curriculum for the colleges and Universities infusing revolutionary courses of 'new Democracy'. In furtherance of propagation of the cause of the proletariat a 'Chinese Peoples' University' was set up to experiment in the 'new-education'. New facilities, like cooperatives and factory administration, were started to learn more about the labourer and his requirements. An irrigation-engineering course was started at the Tsinghua University. This reorganization policy shows a reform of the

ideological reorientation of the staff, the teaching methods, plans, programmes and materials.

Sway of the political control of the party spread more and more as the 'Political conductor system' was introduced into the educational institutions. This system propagated the regime's political programme and organized students on a military plane.

This was a policy of regimentation in the younger elements, to train them in the political mission of the party's directives. The political conductors established in each University, sections like Propaganda, Organization and youth, to gear up all elements to party effort. A student entering the school in the first phase does not know where he goes after graduation. It is the State which decides his future. His leanings and mental aptitude and creative talent, none of them are cared for, and encouraged. He should just become the labourer and the part of the machine. He is away from the world of fine arts and the subtle values of life.

The Chinese communists want nothing but a hard-working labourer's class working round the clock, without any grumbling or discontent. They are scared of the intellect and the power of the brain, which when encouraged might as well subvert them.

The education-indoctrination system in China has become the powerful weapon of the regime's propaganda machine. The intellectuals, educators, and the educated alike are placed at the mercy of heartless regime.

SCIENTISTS IN CHINA—A GUIDED LOT

SCIENTISTS are the modern prophets who guard the destiny of the nations. They are assigned to probe the secrets of Nature and give the benefit of their results, towards the furtherance of the cause of the humanity by producing economic surplus and eradication of the mass ailments. They should be left in their own universe of thought and should have autonomy. However, the picture of scientists is grim and dismal in China.

It was Mao Tse-tung's belief that science, particularly western science, was superstition—nothing but a worshipping of foreigners. Scientific geniuses should be discovered among workers and peasants.

Genuine scientists suffer very much from the political indoctrination and the oppressive atmosphere of the political pressure. The first class scientists are doing today what they have been doing for many years, fighting for time for research work. Their time is regulated, only five-sixths of the weekly time is allowed for research work. This is surprising. The rest of the time they are assigned for other purposes, i.e. studies (Indoctrination) and other political activities. Thus it is not possible for the scientists to concentrate on research problems under continuous interruptions.

The new turn of events has totally stultified the mental expansion of the scientists. By the order of the last September all research is directed towards aid to agriculture. Thus they have become the part and parcel of the class struggle that is going on for a long time and has assumed complex and violent shape. The Government has cautioned to be vigilant against the revival of capitalism by the intellectual class which in their words is still injected with bourgeois

germs. They have foreseen the dangers of revivalism. This attitude has worried all the heads bent over books or microscopes. The situation is reminiscent of the bitter years of 1957-1959, when people were taken away from laboratories and sent to the villages to experience bitter labour.

The fate of young scientists is still more desperate. It is usual that they are easily discouraged when they do not see immediate results. But senior pro-Government scientists like Hung Tsung-Han, brand them as men who do not grasp the importance of the research work and are not willing to do hard work in collecting material. Thus they are neglected in their initial stages and are thrown on the streets, aggravating the problem of unemployment. With the result the hierarchy of the older generation of the scientists with their flattering talent, are still continuing and manning the institutions.

Two contradictory factors govern the scientific research. Firstly research work is directed by the ignorant party members, secondly Projects under way are suddenly dropped as new orders are issued. Thus the standard of that particular branch of science falls much behind the international level and pace is not kept with. I am afraid these contradictions are not being reconciled in China. Besides the half educated party representatives, scientists themselves too are responsible for the stunted growth. They are not bold and true lovers of truth, for they are incapable of breaking physical barriers. They do not publish any of their works, with the slightest restriction by the party. Thus some of them lack the power of assertion. However a tenacious group of men have shifted from laboratories down to villages to humiliate themselves and continue work out of true love of science and true patriotism. Our question is, can they escape persecution and banning, soon after their revealed truth? Another pertinent question too : whether they can fill the gap left by Russian scientists.

10012

AN INTERVIEW WITH A MEDICAL GRADUATE (A REFUGEE)

EDUCATION in China is difficult, hard, and strenuous. Recently a medical graduate who has just completed four years of 'study' at Wuhan Medical College said, "Politics must always take command" even in education. This young lady hoped someday to become a doctor. At the moment, however, she considers herself somewhat better prepared to take up the work of an earth coolie, than a doctor.

With pathetic flashes in her eyes she tells her story at Wuhan Medical College. She learnt to carry 'Kwanyin earth' a pottery clay used in the building of small furnaces. This was during the 'Iron and steel' leap forward campaign. She learned to hoe the fields, carry manure and perform other tasks of agricultural labour. This was during the busy agricultural seasons. She learned to move stone, earth and mud by loading them into wicker baskets and passing them from hand to hand. This was while the medical students were assigned to assist in the construction of the Hankow-Knanghu railway. She also learnt to perform the chores of a factory coolie in the Medical College's quarry and its chemical plants. This was part of the regular weekly labour assignments. And finally in her fourth year at the Medical College she learned how to diagnose and treat prolapse of the uterus—the most common disease on the mainland. However she was much frustrated. She was unable to score a single complete recovery among all the patients she treated. This was firstly because it was impossible to perform the required surgical operation in the absence of any surgical instruments, and secondly because in addition to the operation, patients need rest and nourishment, two things which are hard to come by in the China of today.

The young doctor described her earlier days at the college as 'Politics governing the institution'. All students from second year upwards had to hold meetings in their classrooms denouncing students and teachers labelled as 'Rightist' for criticizing the government. Severe punishment for the defaulters was a sentence of labour reform at the school's farm. As a result of political campaign 'Iron and Steel campaign', the following summer the college was closed for two months. Every student, even the doctors and nurses in the college hospital, was forced to participate in the campaign. They built 20 native style furnaces. Our young friend had to fetch cement, stones, bricks and iron bars from a distance of 8 to 10 miles to the site of construction. As the paraphernalia was not provided, students used to tie up the ends of trousers, fill them with clay and sling them over their shoulders like sacks. They had to work round the clock with little or no rest. Despite these efforts the steel produced was very little. It was just a gesture showing their whole-hearted support of the party's call to speed up steel production.

The doctor said, whatever one's professional background and training may be, the party forces him to look at things from a labourer's point of view and that is to be done by experiencing the life of a labourer. There were nightshifts and none was spared from that duty. When asked what did the school authorities do to make up for the lost teaching time during the campaign, she replied, "nothing at all; we simply skipped the lessons that should have been taught during the campaign months and went on to fresh fields. That's why after four years in college, I have no confidence about my future, I wonder if I will ever become a good doctor".

After the Iron and Steel campaign there followed the 'reforming the teaching methods campaign'. This, she said, politicians always take command, as it was a move to serve the interests of the proletariat. Students and professors had to shout slogans, paste up posters, and hold mass meetings in favour of the party.

In 1960 the college was again closed for one month. All the medical students were sent to help with the construction of the Hankow-Knanghua railway. Students had to lay tracks and dig culverts and carry stones, earth and mud. Whether it shines or rains they had to work. Many of them contracted rheumatism for their hands and feet were continually in water.

The students then returned to the college and started clinical practice at the college hospital. Our friend, lady doctor, was sent to the countryside for rural health campaign. There was no qualified doctor at the health station to guide these students. These inexperienced raw doctors were authorised to diagnose the case, prescribe treatment, and perform surgical operations if necessary. The common disease was 'prolapse of the Uterus'—a disease in women who have recently delivered and have resumed hard labour. These cases have increased since 1958 when women were liberated from domestic chores and forced to work in the field as the equals of men. They were not physically fit for this especially immediately after childbirth. Malnutrition also aggravates this condition.

When asked, 'How many of your cases recovered', the young doctor replied, "I am sorry to say that there was not a single complete recovery out of all the eighty cases I treated. The patients need plenty of rest and nourishment and I could not give them either. There was no furnished hospital. The health station was housed in a clay-walled building that had once been a cowshed. I had to find my own way and give them good rest. They openly blamed the communists for bringing them to a state of misery worse than anything their ancestors had experienced. However, they were grateful to me and used to say we must thank the Communists for bringing us such a lovely girl as you".

JUDICIARY—A CONTROLLED SYSTEM

JUDICIARY IS the custodian of the law and order in a country. It is the watchdog for the Executive and the Legislature. It is a last resort and a final place for appeal for all the disgruntled persons. So this system has something vital and paramount to perform, which is possible only without any interference. A complete autonomy is its primary need. Unbiased administration of justice is only possible when there is judicial sovereignty. After the turn of the century the free world has already switched on to the independence of Judiciary.

The Government of China, in planning for a drastic and sweeping transformation of the economic and social order, has not overlooked the law of the country, its court system, and the administration of justice, for accomplishing its purposes. The court system is a channel or instrument through which the regime exercises a great degree of control. They are frankly "political" in nature. They serve whatever policies and programmes are laid down by the regime and fulfill all missions assigned by it.

The courts are ordered to suppress, resolutely, sternly, and in good time, all counter-revolutionary activities, and the resistance of the reactionary classes. Procedure for trial in civil and criminal cases too has been laid down. According to the Article 3 of the provisional rules of the people's courts "courts should consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, uphold the new social order and safeguard the communist front of people's revolution". With this objective firstly courts have been placed under the political organs of the Government thus removing the last vestige of judicial independence, and secondly extensive reorganisation of the

cadres staffing the judicial system has been carried out removing the unco-operative elements and training the co-operative ones. Thus the courts at all levels are subordinate organs in the Government machinery. The highest tribunal, the Supreme People's Court, is placed under the control of the C.P.G.C. (Communist party of Government of China) which appoints and removes court officials, and enacts laws relating to the Supreme Court.

The Set up :

The Judicial system in China is made up of two intertwined hierarchies which is most unusual. One is that of the People's courts culminating in the Supreme People's Court, and the other the People's procuratorates leading upto Supreme People's Procuratorate. Both are ultimately responsible to the National People's Congress (the Parliament).

The principle of separation of powers is rejected in the Chinese constitution. As a result, the independence of the Judiciary is lacking, instead judicial functions are assigned to non-judicial organs. The judicial review of the constitution and propriety of acts, are subject to scrutiny by the National People's Congress. Similarly, the higher people's councils may review the decisions and orders of lower councils and the acts of lower congresses. An interesting example is the establishment of "People's tribunals" in 1950-51 set up outside the regular court system to mete out a kind of drum-head justice to landlords and accused counter-revolutionaries.

In view of these unspecified functions and political interference the twin hierarchies of people's courts and people's procuratorates merit separate examination. They owe their loyalty in Section 6 of the 1954 constitution, as promulgated by Chairman Mao on September 28, 1954. The people's courts, under Article 3 of the 1954 organic law, have been assigned to try criminal and civil cases and maintain public order, protect public property and safeguard the lawful rights and interests of citizens. However, the current line of party and state has added another task: "to conduct propaganda educa-

tion among litigants". A two-trial, three-level system was in effect in the judicial system since 1951. A trial commenced at the lower court could be appealed once at the higher court whose decision was final. The three levels were the county, the province and the national level, or the equivalent levels among municipal and autonomous units. This system produced considerable congestion. This was revised in 1954. The new pattern calls for basic, middle, and higher courts below and the Supreme People's court (SPC) at the national level.

The basic courts include the people's courts of a county, an autonomous county, or a municipal district. They are the courts of first instance for civil and criminal cases and perform mediation functions if necessary. The middle people's courts are established for subdivisions of the provinces only. A higher people's court in turn is established only for a province, directly under the central Government. These two courts are the appellate ones for the lower courts, as well as court of retrial in the event of people's procurator, opposing the judgment of the lower court. Lastly the Supreme People's court has appellate jurisdiction over cases from the higher courts and original jurisdiction in cases of national importance and constitutional validity.

The system is quite in tune with the prevalent ones, in the nations of the free world. This is only a veiled picture. How far the party and the government of China allows a free hand of justice to its people is a matter open for discussion and review. Ordinarily appeals from the lowest court to the highest court are not possible as an immediate censorship is made at the higher court. As part of its function the SPC not only supervises and reviews the work of the lower courts, but checks the appellate work also, depriving the people of their right.

Efficiency of the bench: The members are not always professionally trained, the president of the court just nominates additional members to serve as a trial committee. Article 78 of the Constitution stipulates that the people's

courts are to conduct trials independently, subject only to the laws. In practice however this is not true. The judicial process is almost a "mass participation". The members of the court are subject to other pressures and influences, thus the administration of justice is corrupted. Each court has a President (a presiding judge), one or more Vice Presidents and a number of other judges. An interesting feature is, the President of the court at each level is elected (not selected on his legal merits), and may be removed by the corresponding people's congress. He is accountable to this political body. Similarly the President of the Supreme People's court is accountable to the standing committee, of the National Peoples congress which guards his destiny.

There are no qualifications specified for serving in the judicial system. The political considerations play a major part. Any citizen over 23 years of age may be chosen a court President, provided he is in the flowing current of the political stream. The same holds good for the choice of court assessors and other members as well. Thus the court system is composed of a high proportion of non-professional persons without training in or knowledge of the law. So these members are not impervious to the extraneous influences and other pressure.

Now a word about the 'mass participation'. During the court proceedings as the trial progresses, one can see the noisy scenes and loud comments from the spectators. They even denounce the accused by shouting slogans, like "shoot the rascals", which are politically inspired rather than spontaneous. There is no dignity and decorum, awe and majesty, to be noticed in a court hall.

The second line of hierarchy of people's procuratorates is patterned on parallel lines to that of the people's courts. In a way it is less accountable to the other organs of the government and has some independence. In the final phase, they too join hands with the people's courts in consolidating the peoples' revolutionary regime and reinforcing the political

tasks of the state. As for the 1954 constitution, none of them has any power to declare a law or decree unconstitutional. This is the privilege of the standing committee of the NPC only.

Contrarily, there is full independence of judiciary in India even before her political independence. The system carried out for 40 years in old Hyderabad state bears testimony to the above fact. The unit of the judicial set up is the Munsiff court or the sub-judge court in the taluqa leading to the apex, the Supreme Court of India, the highest temple of justice in the land. It is exclusively independent, and not accountable to the Parliament. It is empowered to declare 'ultra-vires' any law and the act passed by the Parliament. Judges are selected from the post of highly experienced and meritorious men from the legal field. The District and Sessions Judge, is the head of the Distt. Judiciary and serves as a custodian and watchdog for the law and order, and administration of the district. There is no public interference in the administration of justice. Judges are well paid and highly respected. Thus we have a high standard of Judiciary in India.

AGRICULTURE

Failure of the Commune System

THE TOPIC IS controversial. The statistics of the Govt. of China and personal observations of the visitors from India and other countries do not tally and there is much room for speculation. The subject has assumed special topical interest since Chinese invasion. The 'Make believe' story of the Chinese Communists has won for them many admirers. However, a cross-section of the problem will reveal the factual side.

Chinese Communists had planned agricultural development programmes along with scientific and technological improvements. They called it 'social reforms'. This in their vocabulary means the complete destruction of the free independence of the farmer. The process is captioned under the term collectivization which transformed itself into 'Communalization' in 1958. The process is designed for increasing production and must be considered in that light, but more important it must be weighed as a counterproductive force in the outlook for agricultural development.

Regimentation of peasants has proved incompatible with a productive agricultural economy.

During the revolutionary period, the Chinese Communists sought the peasant support by talking of land reform. Hopeful peasants provided the bulk of the men and material for the Communists to overthrow the nationalist Government. Immediately they set out for the next stage and forced the peasants to form producer-cooperatives. This called for pooling of all land, major farm equipment and livestock. The owner was promised a fixed-interest payment as compensation. It was the initial confiscatory measure. Later these co-opera-

tives were enlarged by taking in adjacent areas and combining small organizations. Thus a collective was formed. Here the compensation to the farmer was dropped. His property except his essential belongings, became the property of the collective to be controlled by the state. Ultimately this was thought unsatisfactory and an immediate amalgamation of the collectives into a much fewer number of communes was brought in. This shows the studied masterplan of the Chinese Communists carefully worked out and forcefully executed, each step paving the way for the next until the peasant ended as essentially a mere wage earner.

The commune system

On August 29, 1958 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communists party ordered that all collective farms be immediately consolidated into communes. Free World observers were much surprised by the suddenness and adventuresome nature of the move. The new system provides for the most rigid regimentation ever conceived in history. It aims at the drastic reorganisation of the social, political, and economic structure. It will, as planned, replace the family circle. They have planned the basic structure of the promised pure communistic society. The new system is to provide community kitchens, public bathrooms, tailor shops, barber shops, homes for the aged and children nurseries. This has destroyed the free enterprise system.

All this is meant for increasing farm production. They have formed three channels for its fulfillment. First, the entire population is organised along military lines; second, the common dining hall permits the government to control the use of food and supplies; third, the Government is able to shift labour over wider geographic areas and between industry and agriculture. Thus a fuller exploitation of the human labour forces was envisaged.

With these intentions 25000 communes were formed out of 700,000 collective farms. It was an addition to the series of experiments carried out in the Chinese countryside. They

stressed much on increase in agricultural production, but did not produce better farm tools and especially, more fertilizer. Chinese Communists have not invested in plough factories and fertilizer plants on the required scale, however they have concentrated on heavy industry as a basis for military power and world fame. They incited a social change and more efficient use of rural labour. They wanted to liquidate the leaders of rural society and replace them with rural cadres.

Further political indoctrination played an important part in the commune system. With the dissolution of the traditional family system the centre of loyalty was forced to shift to the state and to the party. The new system with stationed military strength simplified the control over the villages. Thus dogmatists paved the way for the ultimate stage of Marxist dialectic "Pure Communism". Within six weeks nearly 100 per cent of the peasantry was organised into communes.

The humble peasants were forced to submit to semi-military discipline besides their hard work on land. They were engaged in setting up communal factories, irrigation works and manufacturing iron and steel. Nearly a labour force of 100 million people was exploited. Peasants laboured 12, 14 even 20 hours per day.

This was also criticized by the people's daily on November 8 of 1958. The resultant effect was a gap in the agricultural works. Crops were unattended and the harvested grain was not sent to the market. Even Peking radio reported on November 25, 1958 the lag in the farm production. This led to a relatively tense situation, the shortage of manpower. Even the domestic production of meat and vegetables was stopped as the peasants had no time.

Further the system also discouraged the incentive for production and brought instead unhealthy trends in the commune. As for the reports of the Canton's 'Nan fang' daily of January 12, 1959, the commune members absented in large number from work every day and the neglect caused the damage worth 1,500,000 yuan equipment worth £215,827

sterling. Cases of impersonation and defective 'supply system' were also reported for items of ration of food and wages. Initiative was thwarted as the members were supplied with free meals (of inferior type) and medicine, hence the production was of no concern to them. Compartmentalism among the cadres also increased and gave rise to manoeuvrings and scramble for positions. Hoarding of grains was also noticed resulting in short supply.

These measures have already given rise to widespread dissatisfaction among the members. Yet they cannot voice it. The commune members have to eat together in the dining halls, children sent to nurseries, the old ones sent to home for the aged, students are boarded at school, all this has disintegrated the family and living under one roof. The peasants shared their fears and regarded the system as the end of the natural and kindred relationships of man. Even the press and leaders of Soviet Union including Mikoyan and Khrushchev have accepted their failure of communes in U. S. S. R., benefit of which has not been taken. Thus China, forced by the circumstances began a modification programme.

A gradual retreat was planned by a resolution on December 10, 1959, after miscalculations and the failure of the system. The regime admitted the shortage of food and manpower. Now the peasants are allowed to raise pigs and vegetables, and follow other domestic work. In spite of these concessions the basic commune structure is still maintained as the Chinese Communists believe in political methods rather than economic incentives.

In view of the long term objectives of all communist countries, China has undertaken the implementation of theory of communes. She has attempted to translate theory quickly into reality. She has miserably failed.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA AND CHINA

THE QUARREL between India and China over the frontier in the eastern Himalayan and Kashmir Ladakh regions has focussed the attention of the world in recent months on these two countries. But even before this unfortunate event, there has been during the past decade a deepening world wide interest in the two nations because of their teeming populations of nearly 430 and 650 millions respectively, the size of their territories, their attempts at rapid industrial development, their ancient cultures, the personality of their leaders, and their conflicting ideologies. It is these two peoples who by a strange incident of fate find themselves placed in a position of unexpected rivalry, and a challenge to each others' systems of values, only one of which is destined in the end to triumph over the Asian mind and mould its social fabric and political institutions and infuse its *weltan-schauung*. Yet there could have been co-operation towards harmonious economic, political and social growth, the deepening of culture and the strengthening and expansion of the spiritual and mystic values for which the East has been so well-known, but for the uncompromising nature of the Chinese brand of Communism, that is essentially intolerant and monolithic. The brutal attack and complete decimation of the Tibetan people, far worse than the Hungarian incident and the trouble over the Indian frontier have served to awaken the countries of Asia, and especially India so friendly to the Chinese up to now, to a realisation of the new power that is threatening to dominate the continent, and impose its system of values in every part of this vast region.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Apart from the purely political disagreement between them, India and China find themselves placed, especially in regard to economic development, in the same bracket of underdeveloped countries, striving to break the vicious circle of mass poverty, mass unemployment, mass illiteracy, insecurity of skilled labour and capital and large increasing population, each of these factors tending to act as a "brake" on any kind of attempt at improving the standard of living. Thus mass poverty which is due to the pressure of population on the land, and primitive methods of cultivation, involves mass unemployment because the main occupation of the vast majority of the people, amounting to about 70 or 80%, is agriculture. The little industry that exists has no chance of expanding, because the purchasing power of the people is so low that there is practically no market for the goods produced within the country. But when people are so poor, it becomes impossible to save, and therefore there is no capital to invest so as to increase the production of agricultural produce is attempted, it is the buyer of these products who dictates the price to his advantage. Moreover with the growing population, the increase in production rapidly vanishes and so the economy stagnates. To break through this stranglehold on their economies, both India and China are convinced that the only method is rapid industrialization, and the use of modern techniques in agriculture which will increase productivity in every sector, it is the buyer of these products who dictates the price to build up an expanding economy, solve the problem of their vast unemployed labour force, raise the standard of living of their people, and share on equal terms with the people of the West fruits of the material prosperity made possible by the technological revolution of the 20th Century.

Planning to achieve their objective of rapid industrialisation both India and China have taken to planning. "Planning", says John Friedmann, "is an invention that is peculiarly Western, the result of the scientific and rationalistic tradition of

Europe, especially of the traditional belief in the possibility of man being able to dominate his environment."

More explicitly, planning has come to mean the application of reason in choosing one of the several possible ways of reaching a determined objective in the social and economic sphere. Roughly from the point of view of economics, this objective may be described as the maximisation of welfare, embracing individual and social, material as well as immaterial, satisfaction. The objective will however not generally be limited to the narrow economic field, but might extend to serve the social and political goals chosen for a particular country. Indeed planning has been elevated to the status of a specific function of modern governments and everywhere one comes across evidences of planning, either at the national, regional or local level. At the economic level, planning caters to the satisfaction of fundamental human needs that are common to all mankind, whether they live in democratic or communist regimes. For example, all men need food, clothing and housing; the young needs schools; the necessities of life are produced in enterprises that employ a salaried staff, utilise the machines, the raw materials and the mechanical energy as a group. To maintain and develop these enterprises it becomes necessary to procure the required financial resources.

But in order to be effective, planning presupposes much of the social environment that is peculiar to advanced industrial society: a large measure of industrialisation and urbanisation, efficient administration, reliable statistical analysis, modern financial instruments, technical and scientific elite, and the like. Moreover the planners must be able to take an objective, analytical and integrated outlook while drawing up the plan, and at the same time make the plan flexible enough to allow for future contingencies.

Obviously, there are limitations to every plan. How far can reason delve into the future? What about the force of tradition and the social habits of the people? Further a considerable portion of economic activity simply escapes planning,

because this is impossible. Finally, the evaluation of the planning effort is perhaps the most difficult and unreliable part of the planning apparatus.

Despite these various shortcomings of planning itself, the permissive nature of their economics, both India and China are irrevocably committed to secure their economic development through planning at the national level.

Plan Objectives :

At present India and China are busy with their five year plans, although for China the periods are not so clearly demarcated as for India. The Chinese plan for short as well as for long periods, for a year, for five years and for twelve and fifteen years, according to the probable length of time will take to reach the planned objectives, and to make the plans sufficiently flexible to cope with changing and unforeseen circumstances, as floods, famines, wars, pests, etc. But what is remarkable is the contrast in the objectives of the Indian and the Chinese plans, due in the main to the divergence in their ideologies. The aim of the Indian first five year plan was the 'establishment of a welfare State', while that of the second was 'the socialist pattern of society'. But the kind of socialism envisaged in the future plan was primarily identified not so much with the nationalisation of production as with fuller and more equal opportunities for everyone; rising standards of living and therefore higher productivity; more employment opportunities; easier access to education, technical training and health services; and the prevention of sectional exploitation. The reasons for resorting to a planned economy to achieve these objectives were to make a steady, continuous and full use of the community's power of production; to dominate one's economic environment; to operate economic institutions scientifically; to avoid economic fluctuations, and to mitigate the grosser forms of inequality.

To achieve these aims, the state in the Indian plan is given a leading role, because the private sector of the economy is not regarded as sufficiently capable or prepared to

mobilize the large scale capital resources and technical skills needed for the establishment of basic industries which have to be built up rapidly. Thus the plans will lead to an expansion of the public sector and also employ an overall control over the private sector in view of the needs of planned economy. A certain prejudice against private initiative and the existence of large concentrations of capital in private hands and the belief that much of the inequity and the exploitation of capitalist system can be avoided by the State owning and managing at least basic industries is the content in both the plans. Indeed the spheres of the public and the private sectors were demarcated in the Industrial Policy Resolution placed by the Government of India before the Parliament in April 1956. According to this document "all industries of basic and strategic importances, or in the nature of public utility services, should be in the public sector," as also "industries which are essential and require investment on a scale which only the State, in present circumstances, could provide". The development of other industries left out of public utility services, should be in the "public sector" as to which the State will function as it expands its industrial activities is still uncertain and therefore flexible enough to respond to needs and circumstances as they develop, and to allow for a certain amount of experimental trial and error. It has to be noted that in the sphere of organised industry (i.e. industry organised as factory enterprises), only about 3.5 per cent of the total capital stock in the country is at present owned by the state. On the other hand, it is stated quite clearly in the second plan that "a democratic system of plan operates mainly through the price mechanism." But controls through taxation and the bank rate, and through devices like export duties, licensing of industries, fixation of prices, and the regulation of economic activity in particular sectors in view of the common needs of the plan become necessary if the plan is to succeed.

For the Chinese on the contrary, planning is an instrument to secure the political ends of the communist regime,

as can be easily deduced from the objectives of the plan; to transform 'feudal' China into a modern country, to transform Chinese society into a socialist society, to make agricultural China an industrial China, and finally to make China a prosperous and self-sufficient country. To achieve these ends it is intended to concentrate all the resources.

As a matter of fact, this process was completed in early 1957, and is known as the 'socialist revolution'. It is obvious that, unlike India's mixed planning and respect for democratic values, China has chosen to follow the Soviet model of a 'centrally planned' economy, where the State assumes complete control of the human, financial and material resources of the country. Such absolute power over the economy has its advantages in so far as it enables the Government to surmount incidental hurdles that beset rapid industrialisation, such as rising prices, scarcity of consumer goods, lack of capital, social feeling etc., but it also means the negative of liberty and involves a regimented life for the people along the lines of the Communist pattern of society.

Heavy Industry

Heavy industry is the corner-stone of central planning. And the Chinese government are as determined as were the Soviets upon erecting a solid base for heavy industry within the shortest possible time. But for India, the choice between heavy and light industry was decided in favour of the former. As Shri Nehru told the Indian National Development Council on January 21, 1956 : "If you want India to industrialise and to go ahead, you must industrialise and not bother with old little factories producing hair oil and the like." And in his address to the first session of the First National People's Congress, Chou En-lai declared : "But which is better : to bear certain temporary hardships for the sake of long-range prosperity and happiness; or to seek petty benefits now and never manage to shake off poverty and backwardness? We believe that everyone will think the first a good idea, the second bad." Heavy industry is required to produce *capital*

goods, including *machines to make machines*. A further aim of the development of heavy industry is to make the country self-sufficient and thus save foreign currency in the future. Finally it is intended to be a spur to the development of other industries and thus bring about a balance of industrial and agricultural occupations within the country, and so reach a state of full employment.

The Chinese plans reveal the great emphasis laid on industry through the targets they propose for achievement and the amount of investment in relation to agriculture. During the two five-year periods, industrial production is to be doubled whereas agricultural production is to rise by one quarter during the first period, and about one-third in the second. This is also reflected in the distribution of Government investment in *capital construction* in the first plan period, which reached 24.9 thousand million yuan for industry, but only 3.3 thousand million yuan for agriculture, a ratio of 7.5 to 1. Further among the targets set for industry in general, it must be noted that the rate of increase set for producer goods or the means of production in the Chinese first five year plan was 126.6 per cent as compared with 79.7 per cent for consumer-goods industries and 61 per cent for handicraft products. Among the producer-goods industries, higher targets are set for certain branches of heavy industry, such as crude petroleum, steel and chemical fertilizers. Under the second five year plan, the target growth rate has been boosted for coal, power and chemical fertilizers, while for *machine tools* almost a four-fold increase is envisaged.

For the Chinese, agricultural development plays only a secondary role although nearly 500 million peasants are dependent on the soil for their existence. Besides the small portion of total investment devoted to agriculture, agricultural development was to depend not on capital intensive measures like dams, large irrigation schemes or factories producing chemical fertilizers, but on the improvement of unit area yields, and the extension of the sown area by simple irrigation measures and in particular the utilisation of skilled

human labour. The evolution of the institutional changes however in agriculture need to be noted. At first, the rich landowners were despoiled of their lands and exterminated as a class. Their lands were then handed over to their tenants or to the landless peasants. The next step in the process of socialisation of agriculture was the formation of producers cooperatives where lands were pooled into collectives. And finally, the collectives were merged into entities called Communes, where the peasants, having lost all rights to their lands, and deprived of all family life are herded together in communities of as many as 20,000 to 23,000 individuals. This last development was in view of the "Great Leap Forward" designed to increase production.

In India, on the contrary, the percentage of total investment devoted to agriculture in the first five year plan was Rs. 8,840 million out of a total of Rs. 20,120 million or nearly 43.9%. This investment however took place in the rural sector at large and was concerned not only with the growth of crops as such, but huge irrigation works such as the building of dams, and canals, the erection of hydro-electric plants and the construction of fertilizer factories. Towards industry proper, Rs. 1,000 millions was actually invested although the plan envisaged the spending of Rs. 1,880 millions on industrial projects. But in the second plan the percentages vary greatly in favour of industry and transport, though agriculture, irrigation and power still receive a fairly large share. Out of the total investment of Rs. 48,000 millions, Rs. 14,810 or 30.8% are reserved for agriculture, irrigation and power while industry as such will receive as an investment share Rs. 8,900 and communications as railways, roads and road transport, shipping and other similar schemes are to receive Rs. 13,850 millions as investment capital. In concrete terms, the production of food grains was to rise from 54 million tons to 65 millions tons at the end of the first plan and to 75 million tons at the end of the second.

Already in the third year of the second plan this target has been practically achieved. There were to be similar in-

creases for cotton, jute and sugar-cane of between 20 to 30 per cent at the end of the second five year plan. But the main targets are industrial: the raising of the production of finished steel from 1.1 million tons in 1950-51 to 4.3 million tons in 1960-61; cement from 2 million to 13 million tons; ammonium sulphate from 46 thousand tons to nearly a million and a half tons; and cotton mill-made cloth from 3,718 million yards to 5,500 million yards in the same period. At the same time, the per capita income which was Rs. 287 at the end of the first plan, was expected to rise to Rs. 331 at the end of the second.

Difficulties

The mere fixation of targets does not mean that they will be automatically fulfilled, as India has learned from bitter experience. The first plan was fairly successful and achieved its targets without much difficulty because the country was blessed with abundant rainfall, had enough of capital resources at its disposal, and favourable international markets. Moreover the real difficulties of planning begin only when one tries to invest more than what the country has saved. The Government of India obtained its capital for investment from various sources like taxation of private incomes, revenue from agriculture, import and export duties, taxation of private enterprise and profits from Government enterprise, like the nationalised railways, etc. Besides the Government also had recourse to large-scale borrowing from the people in the form of Government loans.

While these measures were largely successful, borrowing to the extent of Rs. 2,500 million from foreign sources as envisaged in the first plan proved to be a signal failure. Only Rs. 500 million was forthcoming after great efforts by the Finance Minister to convince foreign governments of India's urgent needs in this regard. Thus the second plan began with a deficit of Rs. 2,000 million, over and above the loans that were expected to be obtained from foreign sources during the period 1957-61.

Unfortunately the second plan ran early into difficulties. There was a shortage of food-grains in 1957 for lack of good monsoons; the irrigation schemes were not being sufficiently utilised by the people, prices of commodities began to rise, and there was a dearth of capital funds to invest. Further the stress on heavy industry which included in particular the building of three steel mills with the help of British, German and Russian loans of capital and technicians did in no way alleviate the acute unemployment problem that existed in the country. The large plan expenditures in addition to the scarcity of consumer-goods like food-grains, etc., created inflationary conditions in the country. On the other hand the Government was not too anxious to impose rationing and price control of essential commodities, if this could be avoided. The agricultural programme undertaken by the Community Development Administration, unique of its kind in the under-developed countries, failed to enthuse sufficiently India's 300 million peasants to increase production by providing them with capital and credit, expert agricultural and technical guidance, good seed, artificial insemination of cattle, and a wide variety of welfare services, like dispensaries, schools and welfare centres. Quite a lot has been done to improve the situation of the peasants, but the tempo is slow. And the reasons are the lack of right type of administrative personnel sufficiently trained and interested to devote themselves to the uplift of the villager and his village, where not even the most elementary necessities of urban life in India can be found, and the centuries-old attitudes and prejudices of the peasant which make him, on the other hand, difficult material to deal with. However, literacy is spreading in the villages; the peasant is being made to feel the impact of the modern technical world through increasing communications, the radio and the films. And when he migrates to the towns, to become an industrial worker, he quickly learns to yearn for the material comforts and prosperity of those who live in comparative luxury around him.

Fortunately for India, there has been recently a growing

consciousness among the industrially advanced nations of the world of their obligations to help the under-developed countries in their schemes of development. Though this policy has been dictated partly by the desire to contain Communism, it has helped India to find the necessary foreign resources. As a result the second five year plan has not been a complete failure. For the purpose of financing the Second Plan, India has already received foreign assistance amounting to Rs. 13,026 million, so far in the third year of the plan, some Rs. 7,000 millions have been spent, leaving for the last two years Rs. 6,020 millions for investment. Only a fall of about 15 to 20 per cent in the targets is expected due mainly to the rise in prices. Net investment has increased from 7 to 11 per cent in the third year of the plan. Except for the bad harvest in 1957-58, the production of both food-grains and industry has risen. But whether this will make India self-sufficient to manage on her own resources in the third plan, is another question, although this should be the natural outcome of the large sacrifices that have been received by the people for the sake of rapid industrialisation.

Chinese Claims

Compared to this sober and comparatively factual picture of the Indian experience in planning, the Chinese claim to have made phenomenal progress especially during the second plan. Thus, for instance, the latest Chinese official estimates of the food and agricultural production in the years 1957 and 1958, show a doubling of food production in 1958 over that of 1957, i.e. a leap from 185 million tons in 1957 to 357 million tons in 1958. The reasons given for this extraordinary increase are attributed to doubling of the yields per hectare, an extension of simple irrigation measures, so as to increase the irrigated area by over 67,000 hectares per day, use of large quantities of barnyard manure, night soil, pond mud and other organic matter, deep ploughing, and improved seed. It is proposed to raise the food grain production in 1959 from 375 to 525 million tons. Similarly, industrial production is

reported to have increased spectacularly. By the end of 1958, coal and steel production had doubled (to 270 million and 11 million tons respectively) and machine tools, tripled (to 90,000 units) the output of 1957. Similarly power had increased by 45 per cent, crude petroleum 55 per cent, cement 50 per cent, and chemical fertilizers 60 per cent. The reasons for this vast increase were reported to have been the policy of simultaneous development of national and local industries, large enterprises and medium and small enterprises, modern and traditional methods of production, and the combination of centralised leadership with full scale mass movement in industry, in which some 60 million people participated. In 1959, still higher targets are planned for the major commodities, i.e. 18 million tons of steel, 380 million tons of coal, 11 million bales of cotton yarn, 15 million tons of salt, and 4.2 million tons of edible vegetable oil. The Chairman of the State Economic Commission stated that in 1959 the country "will approach, catch up with or surpass Britain in the output of steel, iron, copper, aluminium, *machine tools* and power generating equipment".

Such laudatory statements of enormous progress are apt to arouse suspicion even where there exists in the minds of the enquirers a sincere desire to accept the facts as objectively as possible. But the suspicion has to grow when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, at their meeting held in Lushan from the 2-16 August drastically revised these targets.

As far as India is concerned, developmental percentages expressed in the increased amount of national net income that is annually invested and the growth of per capita income are reliable enough (because they can be tested) to draw broad conclusions as to whether the plans have succeeded or failed. But in a closed country like mainland China, the difficulty of getting at the facts becomes insurmountable. This is what the authors of the far Eastern Survey Report of the United Nations have to say in dealing with the Chinese statistics over several years. (1) There are no direct means,

and only limited other means, of verifying the information given in the official releases, which thus constitute almost the only available source. (2) The official releases tend to mention favourable developments and omit unfavourable ones, or report them only later. (3) The way base years are selected, and also frequently changed, and the considerable use made of percentage rather than absolute figures, make interpretation of the released data difficult. (4) The concepts used in social accounting and some other fields of measurement differ considerably from those generally used by other Asian countries, so that international comparability of the data is affected. Despite additions of new data in recent years, significant gaps in data remain—notably, prices for amounts of each commodity exchanged in trade; continuous series for amounts for *money supply*, the cost of living and wages; absolute figures for national income and capital formation, for years, other than 1952-56. Finally the report adds that this note of caution requires special emphasis this year (1959) because of the extraordinarily large size of the production gains officially reported from mainland China for 1958.

However there are some economists who have built up a comparative study of progress India and China have made from these official data accepting the Chinese figures either completely or with some adjustments are purported to be “checks of internal consistency, or logical relationship to some past figures.” Thus it is affirmed that in the period from 1950 to 1959 the Chinese rate of economic growth has been three times as great as that of India. India’s gross product during the first plan (1951-56) shows an increase of 19 per cent, while that of China during the period 1953 to 1957 was 51 per cent, and during precisely the same period *gross investments* increased three times as fast in China. It seems to be clear that China received more foreign aid from Russia than India did from foreign countries. On the other hand, while India has a large deficit in her foreign trade balance, China has a small export surplus. While China allocated over 40 per cent of her *gross output* to investment, India in-

vested only 20 per cent of her gross output during the same interval. Both agricultural and industrial targets in the Chinese plans are much higher than in those of India.

While these conclusions may be true, none of the authors have revealed the grounds or the methods of arriving at their convictions in regard to accepting the Chinese figures as they stand or the readjustments they have made in the light of further investigation. It is true that the Chinese have published fairly detailed concrete figures for the years 1953-57, but ever these are facts ?. Further confirmatory evidence can be adduced from the various reports of the Indian delegations that had been visiting China before 1957. This source remover has been completely blocked ever since the trouble on the frontier. Nor were the reports entirely in favour of Chinese methods for there is some better criticism of the co-operatives. But what has more than offset these generally favourable conclusions about China's economic development has been the recent establishment of the agricultural communes and the drastic revisions in the statistics of the second plan, which profoundly shakes one's confidence in the value of these figures. One may ask : Why were such fantastically high targets chosen for 1958 and 1959? Why were the revisions so drastic? Why should there be such continuous secrecy about the actual figures? These are questions that only the topmost counsellors of the Party can answer. But while the country may have achieved considerable economic progress, no one can pass over in silence the frightful methods used to reach the present stage of development. To use large masses of peasants as if they were mere beasts of burden, to deprive them of what is dearest to them, their homes and their families, to herd them into communal dormitories, to feed them in communal kitchens, and drive them like gangs of slaves to make roads, and build dams, and irrigate the fields, and reclaim land for agriculture,—is this the communist paradise that has been so gloriously predicted by the Marxian pundits? Even the Russians have been shocked by Mao's fanatical determination to establish the communes in China.

Obviously with such large-scale regimentation one can achieve remarkable results in a short time. But must a country and its people pay such a terrible price to become industrialised? Is economic development such absolutely desirable goal as to require of human personality itself? Those economists who rescind from the methods used by the communists and consider only the results obtained are indirectly serving the Communist cause, because the true economist can never be neutral where means and ends are concerned. In evaluating the success of an experiment, he is bound to draw attention to the methods that have been used. A value—judgment is necessary.

Evaluation

If planning then is to serve as an effective instrument for the uplift of the common people and secure the common goods, and not merely for the aggrandisement of the power of structural basis of social and moral values like justice, liberty and respect for the human personality, there is no doubt that the need for planning by the State in our complicated modern world is only another aspect of the state's obligations *pro bono communi*. But, on the other hand, a planned economy need not imply an expansion of the powers of the government. Where however in certain under-developed countries the state undertakes to set the industrial development of the country in motion because it alone is capable of doing so, there may be some initial justification for such action; however the inability of private initiative to achieve such progress must be concretely proved. In India, the private sector has been much more active than expected by the planners. However, much depends on the kind of government control and initiative that planning implies. Some industrial undertakings may be mere government departments; others may be partly autonomous; while still others may be fully autonomous. In China, there is no private sector at all, and every agricultural and industrial undertaking is fully in the hands and under the control of the government. This is an absolutely unjustifiable state of affairs. But in India, there is

the desire to experiment in various forms of social relationships so as to arrive at a happy blending where private interest will work in harmony with the general interest of the community! There still exists however a suspicion of private enterprise, for which indeed there are good reasons, since the capitalist mentality as described by Pope Leo XIII in the *Rerum Novarum* is deeply rooted in the under-developed countries. But the point is whether Government owned and managed undertakings are going to solve this problem.

Experience of planning in a democratic environment like that of India proves that rapid industrialisation is not possible without a corresponding development of agriculture, and *the provision of employment opportunities*. The increase in consumers plays an important role in making the plan a success. In a democracy, it is not possible to use the rigid control over consumption by the strict rationing of food grains, or to impose the forced savings programme so common in a totalitarian regime to obtain funds for investment. Indeed the satisfaction of the elementary human needs of food, clothing, housing, etc., reduces tension between the various classes of society and tends to develop a greater spirit of active co-operation between them. India's Community Development programme is an excellent example of how economic development can be achieved on a basis of personal human endeavour, the free play of liberty and the incentive to self-development.

Finally in this endeavour of economic growth, it becomes an obligation on the part of the richer nations to share their wealth and superior technical knowledge with the under-developed countries, because the good things of this earth are not meant to be enjoyed only by a privileged few, but by all men. Thus the human and moral aspects of the situation cannot be ignored in planning. The plan must include an integrated view of the entire social complex with the human person at its centre. This necessarily implies a correct moral, psychological and social appreciation of man, his capabilities and his innermost desires.

IMBALANCE IN THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA

OUT OF THOUSANDS of anecdotes that crowd the columns of history of the world and her wars, it has been usual for a stronger country—in all her spheres—to invade the weaker one to gain her territorial claims. Conversely China without any appreciable progress—industrial and agricultural—as shown in the following pages except that of her soaring bulk of human lives, has marred the course of history by invading India, comparatively a developed country in all her spheres. It is a sad augury that India, with her focussed attention on economic development, has now to convert every available plant and tool to war production. She has accepted the challenge and is determined to fight on to the end, come what may.

Industry by definition includes mining and electric power generation as well as manufacturing. Industrialization means the marshalling of all effort and resources for the development of all the sectors of industry so as to lay down a foundation for an industrialized state and a modernized national defence. Chinese figures have shown a rapid rise which in the words of Choh-Ming-li, an eminent economist, are exaggerated, duplicated and false. The exaggerations are so serious as to have called forth open discussion among the statisticians, (bulletin, September 1956). More than 40% of industrial output is based on agricultural raw materials, whose value enters into the gross industrial product together with transport costs. (As for..... the journal "Problems of China's Socialist Industrialization, January 1957"). The more industrialized the country, the greater the industrial consumption of agricultural raw materials, the more serious

the factor of double counting in the gross industrial value product. This accounts for our above conclusion.

Now switching on to the factual side, the pace of industrialization in the first five year plan was considered in terms of the growing relative importance of industry which was allocated 79% of the capital investment. Of this 88.8% was to be made in heavy industry leaving only 11.2% for light industry. This indicates, in relative terms, the production of producer goods at the expense of consumer goods. The very definition adopted by the state statistical bureau of China classifying, according to their major use, producer goods under heavy industry and consumer goods under light industry, is inconsistent leading to confusion.

CONSUMER GOODS

These are the most essential in a modern civilization. Although their development is often mentioned in Chinese plan it has a secondary place in the scheme of things and is promised either as a distant goal, or as a natural consequence of the process of industrialization. The Architects of the plan have given a stepmotherly treatment to the consumer goods. The following table clarifies the position.

INVESTMENT IN HEAVY AND LIGHT INDUSTRY

Period	Industry Total	Absolute figures (Mill Yuan) of which		Industry Total	Percentage distribution of which		Ratio of light to heavy industry
		Heavy	Light		Heavy	Light	
1952	1690	1280	410	100	76	24	1:3.2
First five year plan							
1953	2840	2340	500	100	82.4	17.6	1:4.7
1954	3830	3160	670	100	82.4	17.6	1:4.7
Total	25030	212990	3740	100	85.0	15.0	1:5.7
Second Five year plan							
1958	17300	15120	2180	100	87.4	12.6	1:6.9
Grand total	44020	37690	6330	100	85.6	14.4	1:6.0

(From "Ten great years"—by the State Statistical bureau Peking—60)

The consumer goods classified under light industry include textiles, food processing, paper, pharmaceuticals, furs and hides, printing and other industries that manufacture daily necessities. The above table presents a detailed picture of the divergent development of producer and consumer goods industries. It is argued that the price structure may have discriminated against consumer goods and therefore reduced their relative importance in favour of producer goods. In China private industry produces chiefly consumer goods. Nevertheless it seems clear that producer goods industries have been growing about twice as fast as consumer goods industries as shown by the following table.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT AND ITS SECTORS (Percentage)

Period	Gross output in industry	OF WHICH	
		Output of Producer goods	Out of consumer goods
1950-52	34.8	48.5	29.0
1953-57	18.0	25.4	12.8
1957-58	28.1	40.0	20.2

(From 'Ten great years'--The S.S.B. Peking. 1960)

As evident from the Statistics China has failed in her growth of the output of consumer goods which are so essential for the daily necessities. Two factors seem to have operated in favour of the above decline. Firstly the gross factor figures prominently in the value product of the consumer goods and secondly the rate of taxes and profits combined is much higher for the consumer goods than for producer goods. The taxes and profits paid by the light industry to the national treasury (from 1952-55) amounted to 14.4% of the total state budgetary values, but those paid by heavy industry came to 10.1%. (As for several problems of China's industrialisation—Ibid.). The above decline is governed by two other factors also. One is the amalgamation of small production units; as handicraft cooperatives, whose bulk production is consumer goods only, thus reducing double

counting and therefore the gross value product. The other factor is the pricing of new products which chiefly concerns the value product of producer goods.

Nextly China has not succeeded in producing good quality of her products. Production is often carried on for the mere purpose of filling the quota, with no attention being paid to market demand or any incentive to introduce product varieties or new products. Even the state enterprises prefer to buy from private factories than from the other state firms because of quality and price considerations. Writing about "the problems of textile production in 1957" (in "Planned Economy" of May 1957) Chiang Wei recommends "taking stern measures against enterprises producing blindly with no regard to market conditions or manufacturing excessively with no regard to quality".

According to the plan 11.2% of the industrial investment funds was to go into consumer-goods industries. In view of the pressing need the Chairman of the State planning commission declared that for 1956 and 57 the percentage would be raised to 12.5%. Small as the change is it is not known whether the increase of 1.1% in 1957 was made over 56, against an increase of 8% for producer goods. This shows that consumer goods industries are so tied up with agriculture for both raw materials and market output and their development does not depend so much on investment in themselves as on keeping pace with the investment and growth in agriculture.

The development of the light industries or consumer goods in China presents a grim and dismal picture. The development of cotton textile industry, so important in many other undeveloped countries, has been subsidiary in the industrialization process in China. This has been attributed to a poor crop. The paper, an important product, is the solitary one to reach the plan quota. It is significant that all these are daily necessities of the population. The following is the statistical output of consumer goods of China.

ANNUAL OUTPUT OF CONSUMER GOODS (Percentage)

Products	1950-1952	1953-57	1950-58
Cotton Cloth	26.6	5.7	13.1
Paper	33.2	17.8	24.4
	9		
Rubber footwear	28.8	15.9	22.7
Bicycles	78.4	58.8	63.5
Cigarettes	18.3	11.0	12.8
Edible Veg-oil.	30.4	2.3	12.2
Sugar	31.3	13.9	18.3
Aquatic products	54.9	13.3	27.8
Silk worm Cocoons	101.3 cocoons	9.0	7.2

In the last ten years the period under study, there has been considerable progress in consumer industries of India. The production of older industries like textiles and sugar recorded substantial expansion. Yet more rapid progress was made in industries manufacturing durable items such as automobiles, bicycles, motor cycles, scooters, fans, radios, electric lamps and sewing machines. (From the 'Third Five Year plan'—Government of India Planning Commission).

China was unable to tolerate the rapid development and the pace of growth of India, with the mass consent. The picture is painfully different today. Our two sectors of the frontiers are attacked. This has opened our eyes and we are now out for a gallant fight to win back our seized territories. War means money and a drain on the national economy. Chinese must have anticipated that, we would give up our plans and development. Our esteemed Prime Minister has repeatedly stated that we will now fulfil the plan at a rapid pace by working more and producing more. Our factories are working round the clock and defence production is boosted along with other goods. Production is the part of our war effort. Conversely China has not been able to fulfil the basic needs of her soaring populace resulting in economic crisis and a large area of starvation. By her present mad venture

China has successfully diverted her mass attention to a national cause. We have all risen to one man and are determined to throw out the aggressor. We shall fight on the hills, we shall fight on the land, on the snow and in the air till we push back the unscrupulous enemy.

CONSUMPTION IN THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN OF CHINA

CONSUMPTION is the yardstick in measuring the economic development of a country. Increasing rate of consumption shows the pace of industrialisation. A country will move forward towards a self-generating economy and freedom from wants. Rapid industrialisation needs much capital. China had a high rate of capital formation in her first five year plan. The population too has increased at a high rate. So China could not keep pace with the growing population resulting in retarded consumption.

In 1957 from March to May the public rose in complaint for the deterioration of the level of living. They were indignant about the disparity of consumption between industrial workers and peasants. The Government was forced to encourage "free criticism". Mao Tse-tung himself took pains to prove the improvement in per-capita consumption. The agricultural population had increased in per-capita consumption from 72 yuan in 1952 to 81 in 1956, against an increase from 151 yuan to 180 in that of urban workers. Consumption of increasing amounts of staple food, cloth and rubber shoes was stressed as evidence.

Per-capita net National Product: The official data shows an increase of 8.9% from 1952 to 1957. However the population too has increased 2.4% during this period. Taking this into consideration the per-capita net product should have been growing at 6.5%. This proves the manipulation in the official data. Three factors seem to have governed the consumption. Firstly a part of the increase in net national product has been utilized in stockpiles and commodity reserves. The rate of accumulation had increased from 18.2% in 1952

to 25.3% in 1956. Thus there was disparity between the net savings and net capital formation leading to lesser consumption each year. Secondly the output improvement has been regularly shown in per-capita consumption. In her over-anxiety of developing producer goods industries China has neglected the consumer-goods and ancillary industries. This is a crucial factor in determining an increase in per-capita net national product. The amount available for improving per-person consumption was about 4 yuan per year. Thirdly special attention has not been paid to the effects of urbanisation and commercialization. These are the offshoots of rapid industrialisation. Urban population—residents of cities and towns, including immigrants from rural areas, increased from 71.6 million in 1952 to 92 million in 1957. During this period 26 cities had been newly built, many others extensively reconstructed and another 74 remodelled. Urbanization has brought in its wake a number of services, as education, amusement and even medical care. The problem of housing and adequate supply of food from long distances, along with transport and commercial services, these are reflected in a larger net national product, hence do not represent an improvement in consumption.

Nextly commercialization has affected the rural sector the most. The peasants have to depend increasingly on market for supply. It has no doubt helped the pace of growth of food crops from 23.4% in 1952 to 30.8% in 1954. But the process coupled with collectivization has affected the consumption considerably. In an agricultural collective every one is paid according to the number of labour days put into the work during the year. The officials have shown an equalizing effect on staple food consumption as every one sharing the same kind of food in the same collective. They are wise enough in not clarifying whether this means consumption of superior food (like rice and wheat flour) or of inferior food (like sweet potatoes and millet).

The collectivization process has necessitated every one of working age in the farming household to work as many

days as possible to augment the family income. Women too have joined the collectives. This has created a gap in regular domestic production as shoemaking, tailoring, food processing, spinning and weaving. All the products have now to be supplied by the market. Thus there is a growing demand for consumer goods in the rural areas to make up for what was produced at home. Thus the official data on increasing sales of daily necessities have to be interpreted in this light.

The following investigation shows how much money income of a farming household has to be increased to maintain the same level of consumption. A family of six, located in a village in Hunan province in 1955, produced 60% of their total consumption at home. This was priced at 301 yuan locally which would have cost 729 yuan at Peking and 744 yuan at Shanghai. Now they have to buy 70% of their consumer goods from the market. One can visualize their required increase in money income to maintain the same level. Thus the output of consumer goods has not kept pace with population growth and the speed of commercialization.

Per-capita Consumption: The shortage of consumer goods is widespread and has been admitted by Peking authorities. They explain it, by the people's desire to improve their level of living at too fast a rate. The figures indicate that per-capita consumption of food grains has declined from 1953 to 1957 among the urban residents but increased among the rural people. As shown in the foregoing discussion this is due to the curtailment of subsidiary work in the household and on the farm. On the other hand the food-stuffs for daily consumption, vegetable oil, salt and meat have been among the most scarce items. The cotton cloth, an important commodity, has been short of supply as the cotton growing area was reduced from 6.2 million hectares in 1956 to 5.8 in 1957. As a result the per-capita ration of cloth for 1958 was less than 6 meters.

Nextly as a result of urbanization the problem of housing became acute. The per-capita housing space has declined

between 1949 to 1956 from 6.6 square meters to 5.1 in Peking and from 5.7 to 2.97 in Shanghai. This brief view establishes the fact that during the five year period under study per-capita consumption of food, cloth and housing services had declined in absolute terms. As a result of the levelling process of collectivization the shortage was real and more pressing. Thus black market activities became rampant. The staff workers of state-operated and joint enterprises took advantage of their position to obtain raw materials for the lucrative production of consumer goods.

In view of the absolute decline in per-capita consumption during the five year period, it is doubtful whether the state will allow consumption to improve appreciably, given the objectives of "socialist industrialization" and decline in rate of population growth. The Chinese Communist party calls for less discussion of improving the level of consumption. Following this instruction a newspaper of national circulation, Ta Kung Pao (Impartial daily), has editorialized: "The shortage supply of commodities has been developing from year to year. Inconvenience is being felt by the public in every phase of their daily life. This is going to be the basic situation for many years to come and not a temporary accidental phenomenon."

FOREIGN TRADE IN CHINA.

CHINA'S FOREIGN trade has been steadily declining for the last few years. This is causing the Chinese Government considerable concern. One fact, however, they are not yet prepared to admit. It is that China's foreign trade has become a victim of Chinese political philosophy.

China, it is well-known, has practically no trade with western block countries, except with a few, on a barter basis. There is a UN embargo on selling items of strategic importance to China. The Chinese Government has been trying to break this embargo; in one or two cases, they have met with limited success. Countries with huge surpluses of food grains, for example, have sold China large quantities of wheat. A British firm has accepted an order for some aircraft. And a new trade agreement has been signed with some private concerns in Japan.

But the Chinese effort to trade with countries of the Western block is the result of China's growing estrangement with the Soviet Union and other members of the Communist block. China's trade with the Communist block has fallen by as much as forty per cent during the period 1959-61—the period of political differences.

The sharp decline in China's trade with Czechoslovakia is of particular significance, because she used to get a considerable amount of capital goods and military supplies from that country, next only to the Soviet Union.

Sino-Czechoslovak trade which has been declining rapidly since 1960, amounted to only thirty-seven million new roubles in 1961. It was even smaller last year. Two reasons are given for this decline. The worsening political relations; and China's inability to keep up payments.

Czechoslovakia is now reported to have decided to divert to other Communist countries deliveries of arms, war materials and other goods meant for China. Thus it is reported that two Czech explosive factories which previously sent a large part of their output to China, have redirected their sales to other members of the Communist bloc. Several guns and tractor consignments have also been diverted.

Meanwhile, more than three thousand Czechoslovak technicians have been withdrawn from China. The explanation given is that since supplies of Czech equipment are declining, their presence is no longer necessary. Czechoslovakia was only next to the Soviet Union to supply technical personnel to China. Now both Soviet and Czech technicians have been withdrawn.

The extent of the decline of China's trade with the Communist bloc will be clear from the following figures. In 1959, this trade amounted to over one thousand three hundred crore rupees or over one thousand million pounds sterling. Which meant that nearly seventy per cent of China's foreign trade was with the Communist bloc. In 1961, China's total trade with the block countries came to only eight hundred crore rupees, or six hundred million pounds. Last year's figures are not known yet; but reports say, it was considerably less than in 1961.

As China's trade with the Communist bloc countries has fallen sharply, India's has steadily increased. Take the Soviet Union alone.

China's trade with the USSR was valued at seven hundred ninety crore rupees (nearly six hundred million pounds) in 1960. And it fell in 1961 to four hundred twenty-four crores, or just about three hundred million pounds.

India's trade with the Soviet Union rose by nearly thirty-five crore rupees between 1960 and 1961. And it registered a further rise last year. Only recently a new trade agreement was signed between India and the Soviet Union providing for all-round increase in trade.

PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS IN CHINA

WE ARE LIVING in an age of science. The power of reasoning and intellect is gaining more and more scope in the human association and its delegated authority, the Government. The colonialism is fast vanishing with the advent of political consciousness in the minds of the people. The days are gone when there was a yawning gulf between the employees and the employer. A harmonious relationship and a sharing attitude is the new thesis evolved to keep moving the wheels of an industry either in private or public sector. A medium to voice the interests and the grievances of the workers to the employers and the authorities concerned is quite necessary. Trade-unionism is the outcome. Similarly people of other varied interests too organise themselves into associations to further their cause and serve society. As in any other country China too has as many as 26 organizations with a vast network throughout the country. The following is the list of the few organisations that have nationwide importance :—

1. All China Federation of Trade Unions.
2. New Democratic Youth League of China.
3. All China Federation of democratic women.
4. A.C. Federation of literature and art.
5. A.C. Student Federation.
6. A.C. Association of Industry & Commerce.
7. Society of Philosophy of China.
8. Historical Society of China.
9. All China Athletic Committee.
10. Chinese people's Committee for World Peace.

The study of these organizations is significant and desirable for the following reasons. Firstly in a country where

the degree of bureaucratization and centralization is extremely high like Communist China, these organizations serve as the principal media for propagation of Government policies to the masses. Thus the policy formulated by a leading organ reflects the blowing of the political wind at that time. Secondly, the decisions and discussions made by the party are not guarded and are frequently revealing. Thirdly the role assigned to these organizations shows the attitudes and reactions of the different social classes in present day China and reveal the tactics of the Chinese Communists in social communication and political indoctrination. Fourthly, the role assigned to these organs by the Chinese Communists is reflected by their representation in Government political consultative Committees.

Party influence: The membership of the Communist party of China is only 2 per cent of the total population. The party mobilizes, directs and controls the remaining 98 per cent of the population through the mass organizations. Thus they form an integral part of the party organizational and functional plans put forward to the people.

The influence is exerted in two ways. Firstly through party cadres and secondly through party directives. As for the C.C.P. (Chinese Communist Party) constitution, leaders in the organizations who belong to the party should expand the influence and establish party nuclei there. In Government organizations, labour unions, peasant associations, co-operatives and other mass organizations in which three or more party members hold responsible positions, there shall be established a party nucleus. The duty of the party members shall be to direct the work of a member for the purpose of strengthening the party's influence and carrying out the party's programmes. Party nucleus in each organization outside the party at the various levels shall be under the direction of the corresponding party committees and shall enforce their decisions. Party committee in the various levels may include leading personnel of key party nuclei to participate in their meeting. Thus it is their first obligation to carry out party resolu-

tions and directives. Party members though small in number, they hold key positions and exercise dominant influence in every organization. As for the previous records the leadership has been the lot of veteran Communists. Besides, the Communists encourage maximum participation of the masses which facilitates their training of young members to join the party rank and to capture key positions in the organization. The policy making powers are concentrated in a top hierarchy which consists of trusted party members. In view of this it is advisable to have a bureaucratic machinery which can provide an incentive to the youth. This centralized control of the party is not only the initiator of all basic programmes, but serves as the supervisor and controller of the execution of these plans which reach millions of the masses under the name of various functional institutions. The party committee first makes the decisions about the policy and the programme and then transmits it to appropriate organs. For example, the decisions to hold convocations of the National Congresses of the labour, youth, and women's organizations was immediately made by the political bureau of the C.C.P. and the implementation of the first five year economic plan (1953-57) was primarily undertaken by the central committee of the C.C.P. Similar is the case in local and regional programme at the districts. The party is the prime mover of all major actions taken by the mass organizations. The members failing to implement these programmes receive stringent action from the bureaucratic party ranks.

In contrast to the above details, in India we have a organized system of associations of various nature which enjoy independence of ideology and equal autonomy. China has been incapable of promoting a sense of participation and discussion among its organizations, which are nothing but the tools of the Government.

CAPITAL-LABOUR RELATIONS IN CHINA

FOR THE SUCCESSFUL growth and increased output of an industry, a harmonious relationship between the capital and the labour is necessary. In rapid industrialization, which is the slogan of all the under-developed countries slightest difference between the two will retard the pace of production resulting in non-fulfilment of their targets and failure to fulfil the demand. A gap is created which may widen and ultimately stop the moving wheels of an industry. Trained personnel, experienced staff, and a sharing attitude of the owner—all these will help in better industrial management.

As to labour power China has certainly an abundant supply. With regard to the efficiency of Chinese labourers it has been proved that it can be increased under proper management. Wages are low in China and that is one factor for the inefficient stuff. As for modern technique and knowhow China has certainly much to learn from the industrialized nations. The great defect about Chinese industries does not lie with the labourer, but with the management. According to Mr. H. Y. Moh, the late Chinese Industrial leader, company directors usually take men who have some social standing instead of those who know the business and when the two qualifications could not be combined the latter was sacrificed for the sake of the former. Another important weak link in the industrial chain is the quality of the foreman system. They are chosen from high school candidates and are called 'supervisors'. They are ignorant of the manufacturing process and are unable to supervise the work properly. Recently because of the higher salaries many college graduates have been attracted to such posts but they lack in experience.

In pre-war days labour disputes in China were settled by

mediation and arbitration. Many of them were settled before strikes were called and both had to do mostly with wages. It is to be appreciated, there have been no nationwide strikes in China. This does not mean that labour unions are unnecessary there. Their organization should be encouraged as they enable the workers to do collective bargaining. China has factory laws and regulations about factory inspection. However, there is no general law requiring safety devices and amenities as better sanitation, and medical care etc. Labourer's wages have not been revised from time to time with the continually rising cost of living.

Next, child labour has not been prohibited in China because many children have to work for their own living, though not to help support their parents. The kind of work which should not be performed by children has not been specified by the Government. A most objectionable practice is the employment of children as apprentices in factories, handicrafts and commercial firms, giving them only food and lodging. The period of apprenticeship usually lasts for two or three years and is often extended more. A reasonable time limit has not been fixed for the apprenticeship. Thus when a child or a young man is able to do work like a regular labourer he is not given the regular wages.

There is an old Chinese practice among commercial firms which solves the capital-labour questions in a most satisfactory way. The Government is not kind enough to accept it. According to this practice, those who supply the capital own a number of 'Tsai-ku' or financial shares and the employees own a number of 'Shen-ku' or labour shares. Due to their ownership of such shares the employees are not only entitled to shares in the profits, but also in the firm's assets and have a voice in the management. This system acknowledges a joint partnership between capital and labour in the enterprise. The Government of China does not wish to encourage a sharing attitude and sense of participation between the two components of the industry.

THE SOARING POPULATION

POPULATION GROWTH plays a crucial role in the economic development of a country. It affects not only per capita consumption, but also labour supply, per capita output, composition of output and the export volume. A developing country and its economy should keep pace with the increasing rate of population, otherwise a gap is created which is filled up by multiplying wants and poverty. It will give rise to social problems as well.

The Peking authorities undertook a national census in the latter half of 1953 and the first quarter of 1954. The advice of Soviet census experts was sought. The total population on Chinese mainland was reported as 582.6 million. The doubt about the validity of the census report arises from the fact that many census takers might very well have overstated the results of their "survey and registration", in order to exhort the people to work hard for construction, by enhancing their confidence in the new regime. Some prominent scholars and Prof. Ta Chen, well-known Chinese demographer, have criticized the methods of the census as unscientific and the results as "dubious".

Rate of growth: The population change typical of an underdeveloped country is manifested both in a high, stable fertility rate and in a high but widely fluctuating mortality rate due to frequent natural calamities, epidemics and also wars and civil conflicts. In the first survey in 1952 and 1953 an increase of 2.7 per cent per annum was recorded. In the second survey the increase was 2 per cent per year derived from a birth rate of 37 and a death rate of 17. The difference between the two surveys is due to the weight given to rural population in the two samples. In other words the birth rate being about the same between urban and rural population, the

larger the representation of rural population in the sample the higher will be the national death rate. Rural population was not included in the first survey and the reason is not known.

A national campaign was started in 1952 to improve public sanitation, in all the cities of China. The number of hospital beds increased from 106,000 in 1950 to 18,000 in 1952 and 328,000 in 1956. Thus a rapid decline of the death rate was recorded. However birth rate at the same time has not declined considerably. The change in population size from year to year has not been regularly released. Since then, however, the Chinese population has been increasing at the rate of 2.2 per cent each year.

The only statistics obtainable is given below as computed from official data of the total output of food-grains and on per capita share. This has been termed as the "planned supply" of the foodgrains.

Rural and Urban population from census figures and population subject to "planned supply of food grains", 1953 to 1957.

Population	Census	Population subject to "planned supply"			
	1953	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
A. Total.					
1. In millions.	582.6	575.2	589.0	601.9	615.1
2. Annual increase in per cent	—	—	2.40	2.10	2.19
B. Rural.					
1. In millions.	505.3	499.1	509.1	520.7	527.6
2. Annual increase in per cent	—	—	2.00	2.28	1.33
C. Urban.					
1. In millions.	77.3	76.1	79.9	81.2	87.5
2. Annual increase in per cent	—	—	5.00	1.63	2.76
D. Rural-urban Ratio					
1. Rural in per cent	86.74	86.77	86.43	86.51	85.77
2. Urban in per cent	13.26	13.23	13.57	13.49	14.23

According to the State Statistical Bureau and the State Economic Commission the total population was 626 million in 1956 and 640 million in 1957. Thus an average annual rate of increase of 2.38 per cent was recorded. Writing in "Birth Control" Prof. Ta Chen observes, "the new demographic feature of China consists in a rising tendency in the birth rates, a share drop of the death rate (including the infant mortality rate) and therefore a growing rate of natural increase". An increasing rate of population requires an equal rate of increase in the net national production in order to maintain the same net per capita production.

Urban-rural differential: There has been a great disparity in the natural rate of increase between the rural and urban population. The exact definition of rural and urban population has not been given. As for the Peking usage 'rural population' is larger than the 'farming population'. On the urban side the picture is difficult to be viewed at. A total of eight million people had permanently migrated into cities and towns during the first five years of the plan. If the rural population with the 2 per cent annual increase is to be taken as defined in the census and for the country as a whole at 2.4 per cent then the rate of increase of urban population would be 4.8 per cent or about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of rural population, such is the wide divergence. This is due to the advancement of social benefits in the urban areas.

Impact on economic growth: In the urban areas the shortage of work opportunities has become more acute. Each year new opportunities lag further and further behind the number of new entrants. As estimated during the second five year plan about five million persons will come to working age every year consisting of 1.3 million from cities and 3.7 million from villages. The State enterprises will be able to absorb annually about 1 million, a number less than the new entrants coming from the cities itself.

To meet the situation, the State policy as enunciated in 1957 seeks to employ the new entrants in agriculture, handi-

crafts and other subsidiary outlets. The shutting of the surplus working force from urban to rural areas will only aggravate the problem of agriculture. The rural sector has already been witnessing a decline in per capita cultivated acreage and the influx of urban workers will further deteriorate the situation. A massive investment in agriculture is the only possible remedy which the Government cannot afford to do. Thus the problems of employment and the nonfulfilment of the basic needs of life, are very grave in China. The Government has not taken radical steps and has not launched the "Family planning" scheme on a national plane.

CHINESE DATA—A FALSIFICATION

STATISTICS IS the basis in gauging the development of a country. Pains are taken to cover every minute detail in releasing a particular figure to the people with the least possibility of mistakes and omission. It has been very difficult to assess the economic development of China, because of the non-availability of the statistics. Much information and data is withheld from the public. Thus we have to quote the data available only from the speeches, statements, and reports made by high officials in the communiques of the State Statistical Bureau, and in editorials and featured articles of newspapers and periodicals. Though these are unsatisfactory, they constitute the primary sources.

Nature of data: It is fragmentary. Firstly, it may be given for one year but for some reason withheld next year, thus there is no continuity. Secondly, the exact meaning of the available statistics is not known as 20 technical notes are appended. For example, what constitutes the "gross agricultural value product", what is the definition of the 'factory' for statistical purposes and in what way a large factory differs from the small one, the precise meaning of all such concepts is not known. The data appearing in editorials and magazines is still more confusing. For illustration, taking cotton cloth production we do not know whether the figure refers to factory production or handicraft production or both, sometimes the figure is given in terms of bolts and sometimes in meters. To an economist these figures are doubtful and appear inconsistent and fabricated.

The reliability and accuracy of the data may be questioned from three different angles. Firstly, the possibility of falsi-

fication is due to the incompetence of the personnel collecting the data from the field. Secondly, the shortage of trained people is acute as the regular training started only after the establishment of the State Statistical Bureau in late 1952. For instance, industrial statistics is more reliable than agricultural one. In the former the reports come from the factory managers who are better trained for the purpose than the field workers in agricultural sector. This does not mean the factory management is not averse to manipulating the data in the interest of fulfilling the quota or even of blackmarket activities. The extent of the practice is not known at the present. Thirdly, the rapid development of the statistical service has made the coverage more comprehensive. Thus the earlier data has become less comparable. For instance the National Statistical System was set up on the mainland only in 1954, as a result statistics for 1952 to 1954 have been extensively revised. Thus it has been difficult to tell how much of the change in the series has occurred due to technical development. As the Peking authorities have taken 1952 as the base year for the first five year plan we do not know whether the Bureau has made corrections during their revision study. In any way this development makes it meaningless and misleading in comparing the production statistics of the recent years with that of the past. It has become difficult for us to carry the discussion back to those years when the development was initiated. Knowing the pitfalls and limitations it is necessary to use their data to substantiate our argument.

Furthermore the value data are expressed in Yuan and no attempt is made to convert them into the American dollar equivalent. Peking has introduced the Yuan, the new monetary unit, on March 1, 1955 replacing the old 'Jen-min-pi' (People's currency). The official exchange rate to the American dollar notes is 2.355 Yuan, and to Indian Rupee 0.5 Yuan. As the Chinese mainland is insulated from international price effects the foreign exchange equivalent has no meaning.

In the foregoing chapters on various aspects of life in

China, our statistics is based on materials in Chinese papers, magazines, statements, and speeches of the officials. It is surprising how a nation with her soaring millions could assess her own development without the aid of an accurate, consistent and precise data.

CHINA'S PLAN FOR WORLD CONTROL

THE GRAND PATRIARCH Lenin was highly practical and differed from his predecessors Marx and Engels. He has given a blueprint for every phase of Communism, and World revolution. The present regime of China walking in the footsteps of his illustrious disciple Stalin, has chalked out a plan to gain control of Asia and Africa. Their plan includes :—

1. Encouraging civil war between the workers and employees in all nations.
2. Inciting minorities and nationalities to civil war in backward and colonial countries.
3. Setting up communist parties in all the countries to prepare for the revolution by secret activities, agitation and propaganda.
4. Creating leadership of the communist parties.
5. Infiltrating communist agents in labour unions, schools and newspapers.
6. Destroying constitutional governments by 'underground' activities.

This remarkable plan is in operation today.

Civil wars in backward countries: It was under the direction of their big brother that Chinese had started a series of civil wars and gained control over the mainland in 1949. This was succeeded by the attack on South Korea in 1950 and the conquest of northern Vietnam by Ho chi Minh in 1954. These victories brought 700 million Asian people under the heel of communism. The blueprint was extended to minority and national groups in neighbouring countries. Lack of political rights, discrimination in employment or in schools was the refuge for communist help.

Infiltration in labour unions and industry: This was started by planting 'cells' or small units of five to ten communists in labour unions. Some succeeded in gaining control of large labour unions. The aim was to spread propaganda for world revolution and to control strategic industries or transport, radio, telegraph and other equipment. At the opportune time they plan to paralyze the industry through strikes and agitation thus destroying the government. Their policy is reminiscent of the one followed by Soviet dictators during the II World War. Stalin's order to communist controlled labour unions to engage in sabotage and to call strikes in all plants, after the declaration of War on Germany by Britain and France, had paid huge dividends to the Communists. In France, the communist workers in an airplane factory made defective warplanes which killed many French airmen. In America, in 1940 the United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers Union, which was making tanks for Britain and France called a strike and paralysed the aid. In northern America a similar strike shut down the aircraft plant in Inglewood, California. These strikes cut down the war supplies furnished by the United States to Great Britain and France in their struggle against Hitler.

Control of the Vitals of the Nation: Communist agents slip quietly into schools, colleges and Universities and control the educational system. Minds of the young students are won over by the trained teachers. Their cells are planted in city newspapers to slant the news towards communist dogma. Even motion picture industry is made an instrument of their propaganda. They infiltrate even the armed services. Sabotage activities are carried on the main supply lines with the result the communications are disturbed. Access to Government jobs is also found to further communist plans.

They plan to destroy the constitutional Government too by inciting agitation, propaganda and riots. They exploit the weakness of the Government and the discontent of the people. Legislature control is their chief aim by contesting elections and pretending to voice the peoples' desire and their griev-

ances. Gradually they make an alliance with the leftists and try to subvert the constitution.

Thus the growth of Communism in any country is a menace to the public at large and a deathknell to the freedom of the individual. Freedom is like health or air only felt in its absence.

MAO TSE-TUNG FROM FARMER TO DICTATOR

Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun.

—Mao Tse-tung, 1938

Historical experience is written in blood and iron.

—Mao Tse-tung, 1937

MAO TSE-TUNG has shone like a star on the Chinese horizon over three decades and continues still with the support of his military power. He is a firm adherent to the principles laid down by Lenin and Stalin. He is conservative in thinking. His disciples and followers have hailed him a modern prophet of the rising China and have demarcated his cult from the line of other Communists. With a view to knowing his 'philosophy' and approach it is better to have a glimpse at his life and teachings.

Mao Tse-tung was born in Hunan Province, in Central China, in 1893. His father was a landlord having several acres of land. He had the status of a "middle" peasant. He was a strict disciplinarian and Mao was in constant conflict with him. Mao had a thorough education at primary and secondary schools. He had much of literary taste and an aptitude for reading omnivorously. However history and political sciences particularly appealed to him; in them he sought, but without success, the key to the future of China. After his profound study he was convinced of rejecting both democratic liberalism and parliamentary socialism as unsuited to his country. And also History would not accord China the privilege of gradual political, social and economic change of a relatively painless and orderly evolution. He thought China had to change, to change radically, to change fast.

Mao was appointed as assistant in the Peking University Library, after his graduation in 1917. This served as a meet-

ing place for Mao to meet several Marxist thinkers with whom he discovered Lenin, Trotsky, Marx and Engels. This made him a convinced communist by 1920 and later he joined CCP in Shanghai, in 1921. He discovered a new mission, to create a new China..

Over 400 million Chinese peasants lived from day to day at subsistence level. Several millions of them owned no land at all. The peasant was the focus of everyone's attention. Tax collectors frequented him, landlords robbed him, soldiers and bandits sacked him; besides, flights, droughts, floods and epidemics afflicted him a lot. There were no public services, no doctors, no schools, no running water, no electricity, no paved streets, and no sewage disposal. In short the Chinese peasant "ate bitterness" from the time he could walk until he was laid to rest in the burial plot beneath the Cypress trees. This was feudal China. It was ripe to blow to pieces.

Mao stirred up the peasants in 1926. He felt the pulse of the people. He pointed out the acute need for land reform and for getting rid of the gentry landowners who sucked the peasants' blood. 'Modus Operandi' suggested by him was the expropriation and redistribution of the land. Mao formed a mountain stronghold with the help of Chu Teh in 1928, and moulded an Army. Several local bandit chieftains were taken in their fold to increase their strength. This was an ill-devised plan and had no purity of means. Of course Mao was not Gandhi. He dispossessed the landlords and wealth merchants, extracted their wealth and property and thus expanded his 'RED' territory. He was defeated several times by the Nationalist Army. On 13th September, 1930 Mao made a vital decision in the history of the Chinese Communist Party, which laid the foundation for the future 'rift' between Sino-Soviet relations. They planned to lay down the Moscow line for movement in favour of one devised by Mao Tse-tung. Thus the sphere of influence of the traditionalists of Moscow was alienated from CCP. The revolution as planned by Mao was now to be based on peasants as against the Marxist dogma to be based on industrial proletariat. This decision drastically

reoriented the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and cut away from the parental Moscow system.

Mao resorted to civil war against the Kuomintang, off and on, for more than twenty years. In 1931 he established his own base in north China. At the end of the II World War, Russia supported China and the civil war was renewed again. The Communists swept south and occupied a large territory. However, in 1949 Chiang Kai-shek was made to flee to the island of Taiwan, which gave independence to the Chinese people on the mainland, after a protracted revolution full of blood, toil and tears. Mao gave full expression to his statement, "Historical experience is written in blood and iron" which he said twelve years ago.

He then organized his party into a pyramid with humble peasants and workers at the bottom and a polit-buro at the top. It was just like a military organisation demanding absolute obedience. Later he resorted to a policy of expropriation, regimentation, and ruthless suppression which is a rare record in the annals of the history. His treatment to landowners was highly brutal. After a short period, Tibet was annexed militarily much against the wishes of the Tibetans. His expansionist policy towards his neighbours has become the target of his militant and aggressive policy but these ventures if unchecked, may spark off a global war which might extinct the human race itself. India, a peaceful country, and her illustrious leader, Mr. Nehru, have presently become the target of his militant and aggressive policy but his shot has misfired. India is now prepared to teach him a lesson which he should never forget.

Now let us see some of his views and statements that reveal his mind.

1. *On war*: War is the highest form of struggle—for settling contradictions between classes, between nations, between states, or between political groups at given stages of their development. Whoever has an army has power, for war

settles everything. (Strategic Problems of Chinese Revolutionary War, December 1936).

The Omnipotence of War: Some people have ridiculed us as advocates of the "Omnipotence of War"; yes, we are, we are the advocates of the omnipotence of the revolutionary war, which is not bad at all, but is good and Marxist. With the help of the guns the Russian Communists brought about socialism. We are to bring about a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle of the era of imperialism teaches us that the working class and toiling masses cannot defeat the armed bourgeois and landlords except by the power of the gun; in this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remoulded only with the guns. As we are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not desire war; but war can only be abolished through war in order to get rid of the gun, we must first grasp it in our hand.

.... (Problems of War & Strategy; Nov. 6, 1938)

2. *On Guerilla Warfare*: In guerilla warfare select the tactic of seeming to come from the east and attacking from the west; avoid the solid, attack the hollow; attack, withdraw; deliver a lightning blow, seek a lightning decision. When guerillas engage a stronger enemy, they withdraw when he advances; harass him when he stops; strike him when he is weary; pursue him when he withdraws. In guerilla strategy, the enemy's rear, flanks, and other vulnerable spots are his vital points and there he must be harassed, attacked, dispersed, exhausted and annihilated.

.... (Mao's 'Chen Yi' Guerilla Warfare)

3. *On Neutrality*: Neutrality is an illusion. All the countries in the world will be swept into one of the two camps, and in the world today "neutrality" is becoming merely a deceptive phrase. Neutrality is mere camouflage and a third road does not exist. (On Peoples' Dictatorship; July 1, 1948)

4. *On Party*: Our members should fight for the power of the party over troops. Our principle is to have the party

directing the gun, and never allow the gun to direct the party.
.... (Problems of War and Strategy; Nov. 5, 1938)

5. *On Dictatorship*: Ours is a people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who range themselves against the socialist revolution, to suppress all those who try to wreck our socialist construction; and the second function is to protect the state from subversive activities of the enemy. The democratic system is to be carried out within the ranks of the people, giving them freedom of speech, assembly, and association. The right to vote is given to the people and not to the reactionaries. These two aspects, viz. democracy among the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, combine to form the people's democratic dictatorship.

ISOLATION AND SUICIDE

IT IS ALMOST a year now since China has invaded India. Much water has flown under the bridge since then. Chinese are making a fresh bid for attack on our northern frontiers. However, during this course how the world including their own camp has reacted to their aggression, forms the central theme of the following discussion.

The present strength of China and the 'economic development' they have so far achieved, all these owe their origin to their big brother, Soviet Russia. This is now becoming a matter of the past as evidenced by the evident gap between the Sino-Soviet relations. Both of them cling to the same ideology, are the descendants of the same political dynasty (Marx, Lenin and Stalin) and have embarked on similar domestic policies, and yet they are different. Where then is the gap? We find answer to this question in the difference in their modes of thinking and their foreign policies. Russia believes in peaceful co-existence and flexible approach to each problem, while China follows a rigid course of Stalinism and in 'inevitable' path of war. One has kept pace with the changing world, while the other still remains a 'frog in the well'. Now let us have a cross-section of the situation.

After the "Anti-A and H Bomb Conference" in Tokyo last July broke the lull, the Sino-Soviet relations began to deteriorate dramatically. Mao's spokesmen expressed strong and public objection to the flexible stand taken by the Soviet delegation towards the United States and the West. During August and September Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi unmistakably and deliberately criticized the U.S.S.R. at diplomatic receptions in Peking principally on the obligation of one communist state not to interfere in the internal affairs of another. This was in reply to Soviet initiatives for intra-bloc

relations (e.g. resuming friendly relations with Yugoslavia) and approaches towards the United States (e.g. discussions on disarmament), which China construed as 'interference' and even 'subversion'. So in partial refutation Peking forced the closure of the Soviet Consulates in Harbin and Shanghai in mid-September.

The next step was the 10th Plenum's re-affirmation that "modern revisionism" (e.g. Titoism) was the main danger facing world Communism (just at the moment when Soviet President Brezhnev was visiting Yugoslavia) drew firm battle lines between Peking and Moscow. This shows Peking's determination not to be bound by policies set in Moscow but to take independent actions thereafter.

The gulf was more widened by the weak Soviet support for Communist China's attack on India amounting in Chinese eyes to siding with the enemy, intensified the dispute. And the Soviet withdrawal of Red Army missiles from Cuba described by Peking as "capitalationist" and a 'betrayal' of a fraternal socialist state brought the Sino-Soviet relationship to a stage of unprecedented bitterness. A further deterioration in their relations was the result of Khrushchev's reference to Mao Tse-tung and his thesis that "all imperialists and reactionaries are paper tigers" and that "man, not weapons" will determine the victor in the struggle between the democratic and communist systems. Following this revealing verbal attacks and ripostes in November and December between Chinese and Moscow delegates enlivened three East European Party Congresses and the Congress of the Italian Communist party. This was preceded by the U.S.S.R.'S pull out of Soviet technicians from China (when according to public Chinese claims the Russians burned blueprints before departing). In January, Chinese delegates humiliated Mao's men at the East German Party Congress which further isolated Chinese in the Marxist club. In consequence Communist China has become in practical and psychological terms more isolated than before. It stands now separated even from its non-communist Asian neighbours who once sided her.

In emerging from the Great Leap Forward psychosis, China's grip on her masses has loosened considerably. The economy remains badly battered, with industry displaying no real signs of growth and agriculture suffering from mismanagement. The great majority of the people have lost whatever ardour for struggle they once had. Many have withdrawn as far from politics as possible. A number of cadres have become disillusioned with the party and its ideology, critical of party policies and their devisors, unresponsive to party instructions from above, unwilling to deal harshly with expressions of popular discontent. Thus the regime has suffered isolation from its own stronghold.

Now let us look to the views of women all over the world with regard to Chinese policy. Moscow skies were suffocated with the discredited adjuncts of the Chinese theory of world peace through war when the delegates of 119 countries to the World Women's Congress rose to support with one voice India's avowed policy of peaceful co-existence. Indian delegate, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, won massive support for India by vindicating India's stand, which isolated China furthermore. It is a deathknell for Chinese people and their policy, having been humiliated by the fair sex world over in a unified voice. In her historic speech Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali said, "The Congress gave a new orientation to the movement by focussing attention of women of the world on vital issues as peace, disarmament and the principles which should guide nations with different social and political systems". The worst condemnation of the Chinese policy came from Lid Laffaye of Chile, and Soma Vikramnaike of Ceylon.

More and more Peking's behaviour is serving to isolate mainland China from the rest of the world and strain further its limited resources. All her neighbours, her own brethren, and finally her own people have deserted the Chinese Communist regime, which has not as yet realized the danger to its very existence.

India is fast progressing in her industrial and military potential helped by her great friends, coupled with the

resolved strength of her manpower. She might overtake the Chinese vehicle and lead her to the death trap. A military attack on China mainland by the Taiwan regime is still a possibility. Mass revolt subscribed by the discontent growing on the mainland is also at sight. The big brother, with all his missiles and thermonuclear weapons, may cross the outer Mongolia any time, to slap the younger one and kill his ego once for all. All these are permutations and combinations possible to any extent.

China has not realized her folly as yet. She is still running amuck. *Vinash kale vipareeta buddhi* ('when the end is nearer, madness is more'). She is heading towards mass-annihilation and suicide. God forbid that day.

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